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Published Bimonthly by
THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Editorial Office
309 South Hall
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Secretary of the Association
100 University Hall
Ohio State University
Columbus 10, Ohio

Foreign Agents, P. S. King and Staples, Ltd., Great Smith St., Westminster, London

Entered as second class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wis., under the Act of August 4, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized May 12, 1926.

Made in the United States of America

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THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, published bimonthly, is supplied to all members of the American Political Science Association. The annual dues are $6.60 a year ($3.60 for graduate and undergraduate students). $1.00 should be added for foreign postage.

Current issues, $1.25 per copy. Prices of other issues, and of complete volumes, are listed near the end of this number.

Applications for membership, orders for the REVIEW, and remittances should be addressed to Harvey Walker, 100 University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

Correspondence concerning contributions to the REVIEW—also books submitted for review—should be addressed to Frederic A. Ogg, Managing Editor, 209 South Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

Articles and notes in the REVIEW are indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*.

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The American Political Science Review

VOL. XLII DECEMBER, 1948 NO. 6

"CONTRACT CLAUSE" LITIGATION IN COLOMBIA; A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN JUDICIAL REVIEW[1]

J. A. C. GRANT

University of California (Los Angeles)

The 1910 amendments to the Colombian constitution provided:

Art. 40. In every case of incompatibility between the Constitution and the law the constitutional provisions shall be applied by preference.

Art. 41. To the Supreme Court of Justice is confided the guardianship of the integrity of the Constitution. Consequently, in addition to the powers conferred upon it by this Constitution and the statutes, it shall have the following: To decide definitively as to the enforceability of bills that have been vetoed as unconstitutional by the Government, or as to all laws and decrees accused before it by any citizen as unconstitutional, first hearing the Attorney-General of the Nation.[2]

The first function, "to decide definitively as to the enforceability of bills that have been vetoed as unconstitutional," was merely a restatement of the plan copied from Ecuador in 1886 and still in use, although it has proved a major disappointment.[3] The second,

[1] This is one of a series of articles presenting the results of a study begun in 1942 on a Guggenheim Fellowship, but interrupted by war service. The field research was completed in 1946 with a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council. The author takes this opportunity to thank both foundations.

For previous articles, see "Estudio Comparativo de los Sistemas de Control de la Constitutionalidad de Leyes," *Revista de la Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia* (Mexico), Vol. 8, p. 121 (1946); "El Control de la Constitucionalidad de las Leyes a Peticion del Ejecutivo Previamente a la Promulgacion: la Experiencia de Colombia," *Revista Mexicana de Derecho Publico*, Vol. 1, p. 243 (1947); "Judicial Review by Executive Reference Prior to Promulgation; The Colombian Experience," *So. Calif. Law Rev.*, Vol. 21, p. 154 (1948).

[2] These provisions now appear in inverse order as Articles 214 and 215 of the 1945 codification of the constitution. The only important change, made in 1945, has been to divest the Supreme Court of jurisdiction over actions against ordinary decrees, which go to the Consejo de Estado, or administrative court.

[3] See the second and third articles cited in note 1.

which instituted the use of the popular action as a means of contesting the validity of statutes or administrative legislation, was a more novel step. For the first time in modern history, it was made possible for any person, regardless of any direct interest in the outcome save his interest in common with all others that the constitution be not violated, to bring an action directly against a statute itself in the court of last resort, whose decision settles the issue once and for all.[4] In addition, of course, Article 40 made it the duty of all courts to pass upon constitutional issues raised in ordinary litigation, as in the United States.

Through these procedures, more than fifty statutes and a far larger number of executive decrees have been held unconstitutional in whole or in part. The bases of these decisions run the complete gamut of constitutional theory, and many of the opinions would seem so familiar to a Yankee lawyer steeped in the concepts that have grown up about our due process, equal protection, and contract clauses, and the concept of the separation of powers, that he might easily mistake them for rulings of our own courts were it not for the tongue in which they are written. Even the methods of reasoning would seem familiar, for Colombian constitutional law, like French administrative law, has been developed largely by decisions and relies heavily upon precedents.

The Colombian experience is a complete refutation of the common error of North American writers in asserting that although judicial review has been copied fairly widely abroad it nowhere has acquired an importance at all comparable to that in its original home because of the absence elsewhere of contract and due process clauses. True, Colombia has neither; but it does have a provision that "private property and other rights acquired with correct legal title, according to the civil laws, by natural or legal persons, are guaranteed, and cannot be disavowed or injured by later laws."[5] How better could one state the "vested rights" doctrine that lies at the base of all American contract clause and much due process litigation? The cases concerning vested rights arising from con-

[4] The proceeding bears some semblance to the indictment for unconstitutional legislation used in classical Athens.

[5] Const. 1945, Art. 30; formerly Art. 26 of the codification of 1936. Until revised in 1926, the clause (Const. 1886, Art. 31) read: "Rights acquired with correct legal title according to the civil laws, by natural or legal persons, cannot be disavowed or injured by later laws."

tractual obligations are so numerous that only the most cursory examination of them will be possible here.

I. THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN CONTRACTS

One of the first problems faced by our own Supreme Court was: Does the contract clause apply only to private contracts, or does it guarantee as well the sanctity of contracts entered into by the government itself? Although our justices were not unanimous, the latter solution was consistently preferred from the very outset;[6] and latterly the incompleteness of coverage of the contract clause, which curbs only state legislation, has been cured by the due process doctrine that "the United States are as much bound by their contracts as are individuals."[7] There has never been the least doubt on this score in Colombia.

Money Debts. When the government found itself unable to pay the full salaries of troops called out as a result of a state of siege, the military personnel were required to accept i.o.u.'s for a portion of their wages. The laws providing for the issuance of these certificates also provided that they should be redeemed in legal money; but when they came due the administration, by decree, provided that they should be exchanged instead for promissory notes. Experience indicated that such notes, although issued in small denominations payable to the bearer, would pass on the open market for only from sixty to seventy per cent of their face value. In holding the decree void, the Court not only held that it was illegal as in conflict with the existing statutes, but also that it was unconstitutional. Concluding, as would our own courts, that the statutes in existence at the time the contracts were made not only determined their validity but defined the scope and content of the promises made by the government, the Court stated: "Those favored with the certificates payable in legal money have then a right, acquired by virtue of law, to be paid in this money; and consequently the executive cannot disregard or violate it, ordering . . . that these certificates shall be paid in negotiable certificates of public indebtedness, because rights acquired in accordance with

[6] See Fletcher v. Peck, 6 Cranch 87 (U.S. 1810); New Jersey v. Wilson, 7 Cranch 164 (U.S. 1812); Terrett v. Taylor, 9 Cranch 43 (U.S. 1815); Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 4 Wheaton 518 (U.S. 1819).

[7] Perry v. United States, 294 U.S. 330, 351 (1935), quoting Sinking Fund Cases, 99 U.S. 700, 718–9 (1879).

the law are inviolable. . . . The decree . . . consequently is unconstitutional," and the government must redeem these certificates in cash.[8]

Likewise during a state of siege the government made numerous contracts for the transportation of military personnel and supplies by civilians. These contracts, viewed in the light of the laws then in force, provided that upon the presentation of proof of the performance of such services to an administrative board, payment should be made forthwith. A 1905 decree purported to end administrative recognition of services performed during the previous twenty months, thus forcing such claims to be collected through the much slower and more expensive remedy of court action. The decree was held unconstitutional, the Court stating that the rights of such creditors were to be tested by "the ordinary law that governs private conventions," and so tested had been violated even though the decree purported only to abolish a convenient remedy rather than the obligation itself.[9]

No question as to the enforceability of such rulings was involved in either case, as public funds were available for the purposes involved. Had the situation been otherwise, the Colombian Court would have found itself in much the same position of impotence as our own courts when faced with a government that does not choose to recognize its financial obligations. Hence failures on the part of the Colombian government to comply with the terms of payment of its public debt have given rise to very little litigation. In 1925, the government was still proceeding under the terms of an 1886 statute to buy up evidences of its internal debt by means of sealed bids, purchasing from those who offered the most in certificates for the fewest pesos. In that year, a petitioner argued that this law was unconstitutional in that it required creditors to accept less than the sum due under their contracts. The Court held that any action taken under the statute was entirely voluntary, all creditors having "full liberty either to offer (their certificates of indebtedness) in

[8] Sentence of July 25, 1912, *Gaceta Judicial* 21 (#1046–7): 53. Hereafter *Gaceta Judicial* is abbreviated *G.J.* Unless otherwise stated, all decisions cited were by a full court.

[9] Sentence of Oct. 30, 1912, *G.J.* 21 (#1079–80): 322. Cf. our own doctrine: "The test of the validity under the contract clause of subsequent legislation affecting the remedy is whether the change does or does not materially impair the value of the rights established by a contract." *Rottschaefer on Constitutional Law* (1939), 573.

these public auctions at prices they consider convenient, or to abstain from taking part in these auctions in hope of better days, or finally to sell them in the open market at the prevailing market price."[10] But when the Congress attempted to repudiate certain outstanding obligations, the Court called a halt.[11] The obligation must be left intact, at least until "voluntarily" compromised, even though the Court is powerless to give it life.

The Great Depression brought what appears to be the most serious departure from this general pattern, in that the Court sustained a statute, the net effect of which was to reduce the interest rate on the bonds of the Departments and municipalities to six per cent. This case is discussed below.

Changes in the Monetary System. As we shall see later, the Colombian government, like our own, remains free at all times to alter the monetary system of the nation or to change the value of the peso. Hence there is no doubt as to its authority, having issued nickel coins, to retire them from circulation by recalling them in exchange for other types of money. However, it has been held that it cannot simply demonetize nickel coins without offering such an exchange, since this would do violence to the property rights of the holders of such coins.[12] And although a change from a silver to a gold standard may normally be made at a rate of exchange arbitrarily set by the government,[13] it was once held that this is not true as to those who have a contract with the government requiring a higher rate. "A public treaty," the majority wrote in finding such a contract in the Concordat of 1888, "is a pact that gives birth to rights and obligations between the parties. . . . If these rights are civil in character, they are protected by Article 31 of the Constitution."[14]

The Gold Clause decision, discussed below,[15] would seem to throw a shadow of doubt over the latter ruling, as it held that congressional authority to alter the monetary standard is no more susceptible of limitation by public than by private contracts.

Confiscation of Land or Subsoil Rights. The most obvious disre-

[10] Sentence of Nov. 16, 1925, *G.J.* 32 (#1659–60): 122, 123. See also, Acuerdo 4 of Nov. 30, 1920, *G.J.* 28 (#1464): 225.

[11] Sentence of Dec. 16, 1914, *G.J.* 23 (#1197–8): 409.

[12] General Division (3 justices), sentence of May 30, 1911, *G.J.* 20 (#992–3): 24.

[13] Acuerdo 3 of Oct. 20, 1920, *G.J.* 28 (#1460): 193.

[14] Sentence of Nov. 18, 1930, *G.J.* 36 (#1833): 233, 236.

[15] At note 61.

gard of property rights in land consists in the confiscation of the land itself. This is forbidden, not only by the clause quoted above, but by the additional provision of the same article that private property may be taken for public use only by virtue of a court judgment and previous compensation. Of course land may be abandoned; but permitting it to lie inundated for a period of ten years has been held not to constitute such abandonment.[16] Similarly, when the government has ceded certain subsoil rights with the land it cannot take back those rights.[17] It is idle to argue that such rights were acquired by gift, since "property rights conveyed by the government are as final and firm as those conveyed by any private person."[18]

Grants of Public Property. Our own Court has uniformly held that payments or grants being made pursuant to a contract are to be clearly distinguished from payments or grants being made purely as gifts. Although the latter, once made, may be irrevocable, as in the case of lands granted by a state to an established church, there is no reason why they must continue.[19] When the Colombian Congress provided by statute for the construction of a building to be "assigned in perpetuity for the meetings and other functions of the Colombian Language Academy, and for its offices," an American court would have asked: Did the construction and dedication of this building constitute a gift of the building or of an easement therein to the Academy, binding as to the future, or did it merely

[16] Resolution of Nov. 21, 1912, *G.J.* 22 (#1091–2): 9.

[17] Acuerdo 52 of Nov. 21, 1919, *G.J.* 27 (#1406): 177. This case was one of the most bitterly contested in Colombian history, since it turned upon the question of whether or not petroleum deposits had been retained by the government in selling or otherwise disposing of large tracts of land, a point on which the Court divided 5 to 4 against the government. Eight years later, the decision was the basis of a bitter attack upon the Court on the floor of Congress, and those justices who were still in office were called upon to appear and explain the ruling. Two of the dissenting justices declined to appear, but sent a message defending the independence of the Court and insisting that as judges they were not responsible to the Congress but "to God and their own consciences." In the end, Congress passed a resolution "solemnly reaffirming the profound respect that the decisions emanating from the highest judicial tribunal merit, to whose wisdom and rectitude the people have confided the honor of the Republic." *Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Jurisprudencia*, Vol. 10, p. 79 (1927).

[18] General Division (3 justices), sentence of Apr. 25, 1942, *G.J.* 53 (#1984–5): 519, 524.

[19] Compare Terrett v. Taylor, 9 Cranch 43 (U.S. 1815), with Town of Pawlet v. Clark, 9 Cranch 292 (U.S. 1815).

give rise to a license to use the building for an indefinite term but subject to alteration or cancellation at will? The Colombian Court framed the issue in an essentially similar manner: Did the statute create a vested property right in the building on the part of the Academy? It held that it did, and that it was unconstitutional for the Congress to take back the building and give it to the Society of Engineers.[20] A stronger case was presented by the municipality of Mompós. By the Colombian constitution, "The properties and incomes of the Departments, as well as those of the municipalities, are the exclusive property, respectively, of each of them, and enjoy the same guaranties as the properties and incomes of private persons."[21] Hence, the Congress, having previously given all public lands on the island of Mompós to the municipality, was without authority to provide that some of these lands should be ceded to those who had been renting or leasing them.[22]

Pursuant to the terms of the 1892 supplement to the Concordat of 1888, all publicly owned cemeteries with certain designated exceptions were "transferred to the Catholic Church, which shall administer and regulate them independently of the civil authorities." In 1938, the Congress undertook to return all such cemeteries to municipal control, but without success, as the Court found this statute in conflict with the rights vested in the Church by the Concordat.[23] A statute directing the administration to seize as public property a building granted many years earlier to a privately endowed school not only failed of its purpose, but led to damages being awarded the school in an action against the government.[24] A mining company, which proved that title to several mines had been conveyed to it by the government, recovered the mines in a decision also ordering the government to post a bond guaranteeing that it would not again disturb the peaceful possession of the grantee.[25]

[20] Sentence of Mar. 4, 1940, *G.J.* 49 (#1953–4): 14.

[21] Const. 1945, Art. 183, first introduced as Art. 50 of Const. Amend. #3 (1910). Our own constitution contains no such clause, and has not been construed to give any protection to a public corporation or local government against its principal. See City of Trenton v. New Jersey, 262 U.S. 182 (1923).

[22] Sentence of Nov. 25, 1940, *G.J.* 50 (#1966–8): 653. See also sentence of May 31, 1930, *G.J.* 36 (#1829): 121.

[23] Sentence of Mar. 18, 1941, *G.J.* 50 (#1966–8): 701.

[24] General Division (3 justices), sentence of June 2, 1943, *G.J.* 55 (#1996–7): 473.

[25] Sentence of Apr. 25, 1942, cited *supra* note 18.

Pensions: Completed Gifts or Mere Unilateral Promises? The most difficult problems of this nature have concerned pensions, which have given rise to a continuous stream of constitutional litigation. The issue first arose in 1915, when President Concha vetoed the provisions of a salary reduction bill making similar or more severe reductions in all existing pensions. The reductions became law, however, as the majority of the justices were of opinion that pensions "have the character of gifts or gratuitous payments. . . . Never has it been considered that these gifts are obtained as civil rights that the Republic is strictly obligated to recognize and pay."[26] Similar rulings were made in 1932 and 1936,[27] although such statutes were held not applicable to military pensions because of the special protection given to them by the constitution.[28] The ruling was still further strengthened by later decisions which in granting pensions followed the law in force at the time of the award rather than the law as it had stood at the time the pension was earned,[29] or sustained statutes suspending for a period of years the granting of pensions,[30] reducing the size of pensions to be granted in the future,[31] or providing for the cancellation of existing pensions under certain circumstances.[32]

These steps were not taken without the most serious objections on the part of the minority. The basic decision had been rendered by a vote of five to four, and from one to three justices had dissented in later cases. In 1944, the enlarged Court divided nine to seven, the minority insisting that at least as applied to pensions paid in part from salary deductions the claims are "virtually contractual" and constitutionally binding.[33] Finally, on February 28, 1946, in an opinion that carefully examined each point made by the 1915 majority, the Court reversed its position and held that pensions once granted upon retirement from public service are to

[26] Sentence of Dec. 10, 1915, *G.J.* 24 (#1225–6): 165, 167. A previous effort to raise the issue had failed because the actual effect of the statute involved was to increase rather than decrease pensions. Sentence of Dec. 11, 1913, *G.J.* 29 (#1502): 109.

[27] Sentences of July 28, 1932, *G.J.* 38 (#1869): 161, and Nov. 27, 1936, *G.J.* 44 (#1916): 207.

[28] Acuerdo 12 of June 6, 1916, *G.J.* 25 (#1263–4): 49.

[29] Sentence of Mar. 26, 1925, *G.J.* 32 (#1661–2): 145.

[30] Acuerdo 4 of July 4, 1922, *G.J.* 29 (#1510): 173, and sentence of Nov. 27, 1936, cited *supra* note 27.

[31] Sentences of Nov. 27, 1936, cited *supra* note 27, and July 29, 1938, *G.J.* 47 (#1942): 303.

[32] Sentence of Apr. 21, 1944, *G.J.* 57 (#2006–9): 14.

[33] *Id.* at 19.

be regarded in the same light as salary due for services performed, and hence may not be cancelled or reduced.[34] Payment from a fund created in part by salary deductions is not required by the ruling, which goes far beyond any protection that would be given by our own courts under our contract or due process clauses.[35] Further litigation will be necessary to determine the exact scope of the new rule.

Charter Provisions, Franchises. Aside from questions of tax exemption, discussed below, four cases turning upon grants of special privileges merit special mention. A charter granted to a Jesuit school provided that its graduates should be accepted for admission to the university. At the time, the only entrance requirement was graduation from an accredited institution. Subsequently a system of qualifying examinations in certain subjects was added. These were held not applicable to graduates of this school because of the original agreement.[36] A year later the Congress was held powerless to cancel a franchise to construct and operate a railroad, since "rights and obligations arose between the nation and (the grantee) that were beyond the jurisdiction of the legislature the moment the contract was celebrated."[37]

In 1920, the Lottery of Magdalena was granted a twenty-year franchise in which the "takes" alike of the government and of the company were specifically set out. In 1923, the Congress passed a detailed statute purporting to regulate all lotteries in the public interest. This statute, if applicable to this company, would have had the dual effect of increasing the percentage of the gross income to be distributed as prizes and of substantially increasing the payments due to the government. The Attorney-General argued that the statute was legally applicable to existing lotteries such as that of Magdalena because it was an exercise of the police power, having been passed to protect the public from undue exploitation and to protect its morals. The Court held that the terms of the franchise prevailed as against this statute.[38]

[34] Sentence of Feb. 28, 1946, *G.J.* 60 (#2029–31): 3.

[35] See Dodge v. Board of Education, 302 U.S. 74 (1937).

[36] General Division (3 justices), sentence of Feb. 7, 1913, *G.J.* 21 (#1072): 267.

[37] Sentence of Oct. 15, 1914, *G.J.* 26 (#1337): 33, 34.

[38] Sentence of Nov. 18, 1924, *G.J.* 31 (#1611): 149. The decision appears sound, since increasing the amount to be paid out as prizes would not have curbed gambling. Of course the ruling was in general terms, applying to all valid franchises rather than merely to that of the petitioner. This is true of all popular action rulings. Dispute as to the validity of a given franchise is matter for a private suit.

The last of the four cases was very similar in its facts to some of our own "strict construction" cases, but the answer of the Court was very different. In 1894, the government granted a franchise for the construction of an iron toll bridge over the Magdalena river at the city of Honda, the franchise providing that for a period of forty-nine years following its completion "the government obligates itself not to concede to any other person or company the privilege of constructing another bridge over the same river within a distance of 10,000 meters (over six miles) on either side of the bridge, or of establishing ferries." In 1926, the government undertook to purchase many bridges to make them a part of a new national highway system. As this company refused to sell, a 1928 statute appropriated $200,000 pesos to buy this bridge *or to build another bridge* to connect the city of Honda with the proposed highway. The validity of the statute was challenged, but the Court construed it to authorize the construction of a bridge only outside the 20,000-meter zone covered by the franchise. The opinion implied that such an interpretation was necessary to save the statute, which otherwise might be unconstitutional.[39]

The decision has been accepted as final. The highway still stops about six miles short of Honda, which remains to this day without a single adequate bridge since the toll bridge will not serve for modern wheel traffic. I was told by Don Carlos Rocha, of the Ministry of Public Works, that present plans call for the construction of a modern bridge linking Honda to the highway as soon as this exclusive franchise expires in another year or two.

II. STRICT CONSTRUCTION?

The rule is definitely established in the United States that "grants of franchises and special privileges are always to be construed most strongly against the donee, and in favor of the public."[40] This rule was established by the Taney Court over the vigorous objections of such justices as Story and McLean, who felt that public contracts should "be construed by the same rule that gov-

[39] Sentence of Aug. 12, 1930, *G.J.* 36 (#1831): 173. The doctrine that statutes should be so construed as not to violate the constitution is well established in Colombia. See sentences of May 26, 1931, *infra* note 46, Aug. 10, 1937, *G.J.* 45 (#1925): 209, 213–4, and Sept. 28, 1938, *G.J.* 47 (#1941): 211, 221.

[40] Turnpike Co. v. Illinois, 96 U.S. 63, 68 (1877). And see Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge, 11 Peters 420, 544 (U.S. 1837), quoting Stourbridge Canal v. Wheeler, 2 Barn. & Adol. 792, 793, 109 Eng. Rep. 1336, 1337 (K.B. 1831).

erns contracts between individuals."[41] It has been pressed so far as to hold that a contract "not to grant to any other person or corporation, any contract or privilege to furnish water to the city . . . for the full period of 30 years," and setting out the terms on which the government might buy out the water company during this period, does not bar the government from going into the water business as a competitor, although the case was a close one and was decided by a five to four vote.[42]

It is clear from the unanimous ruling in the Honda Bridge Case[43] that the Colombian Court was not applying any such extreme doctrine of construction. Indeed, the statement in the earlier Military Transport Case[44] that the rights of government creditors are to be tested "by the ordinary law that governs private conventions" would seem to reflect an acceptance of the views of Story and McLean. But these rulings are weakened by the tax exemption cases discussed below.

A doctrine similar to that of strict construction may be noted in the rule that statutory provisions do not give rise to contractual rights merely because a party has acted in reliance upon them in his dealings with the government. Thus public officers have no vested rights in their positions, and later statutes may shorten the terms of office or even abolish the positions.[45]

III. PRIVATE CONTRACTS

Save for those discussed in the next section, only three cases involving private rather than public contracts merit discussion. The first grew out of a 1928 statute regulating admission to the practice of law, which had the effect of excluding from practice in all save the inferior courts even existing practitioners who had not pursued a five-year course in a recognized law school. The petitioners argued that to cut short an attorney-client relationship constituted a violation of Article 31. The opinion conceded as much, stating: "The Court has held that the contract made between attorney and client cannot be broken; that here there is not merely an expectancy but

[41] 11 Peters at 558 and 598, dissenting opinions.

[42] Knoxville Water Co. v. Knoxville, 200 U. S. 22 (1906).

[43] Sentence of Aug. 12, 1930, *supra* note 39.

[44] Sentence of Oct. 30, 1912, *supra* note 9.

[45] Sentence of Aug. 9, 1924, *G.J.* 31 (#1596–7): 30. The dissenting justice, *id.* at 42, felt that the Court had not duly deliberated over the issue. Cf. Butler v. Pennsylvania, 10 Howard 414 (U.S. 1851).

a right vested with correct title." But it construed the statute not to apply to suits filed prior to its effective date.[46]

Two years later, the Court sustained a railroad pension act requiring pensions to employees after twenty years of service. As applied to privately owned railroads, it covered only employees leaving the service of the company after the effective date of the statute; but it counted services rendered prior to its passage in computing the qualifying period. The petitioners contended that such a pension constituted additional compensation for fully compensated services and that under Article 31 employees "never can demand a remuneration greater than that contracted for." Had the case arisen two years later, they might well have quoted the language of our own Court in voiding our Railroad Retirement Act of 1934: "Plainly this requirement alters contractual rights; plainly it imposes for the future a burden never contemplated by either party when the earlier relation existed or when it was terminated. The statute would take from the railroads' future earnings amounts to be paid for services fully compensated when rendered in accordance with contract, with no thought on the part of either employer or employee that further sums must be provided by the carrier."[47] But the Colombian Court unanimously held that the pension did not constitute additional compensation, and hence did not alter the contract of employment, the law being, instead, a remedial measure passed to insure the necessities of life to those who had used up their energies and useful years in the service of a given company.[48]

The third decision[49] involved a general law requiring severance pay consisting of one month's salary for each year of service to all employees dismissed without cause. Like the pension act, it applied

[46] Sentence of May 26, 1931, *G.J.* 36 (#1840): 405, 417. See also the June 5, 1930, ruling of the Superior Court of Medellín, reported in *Derecho* (Medellín) 2: 836 (1930), refusing to apply the criminal sections of the act to practice by unlicensed attorneys in an area where there were no attorneys qualified to practice under the law. The court held that a statute, however clear, is never to be applied so as to render absurd results.

[47] Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton R. Co., 295 U.S. 330, 349–50 (1935).

[48] Sentence of Nov. 7, 1933, *G.J.* 40 (#1886): 18. The opinion would have furnished excellent quotations for the four dissenting justices in the Alton case. And see United States v. Lowden, 308 U.S. 225, 239–40 (1939).

In its sentence of Sept. 29, 1947, *G.J.* 62 (#2050–1): 597, the Colombian court found it unnecessary to pass upon the constitutionality of subsequent statutes retroactively increasing the size of these pensions.

[49] Sentence of Nov. 12, 1937, *G.J.* 45 (#1929): 698.

only to those dismissed after passage of the act, but counted all prior service in computing the amount due. The statute was sustained against the contention that to count such prior service was unconstitutional, but only by a seven to six vote, it having been necessary to add a thirteenth justice to break an original tie.[50]

The majority opinion relied largely upon the pension act decision to show that this did not impair the obligation of contracts. It also relied upon the principles of natural law, which the Colombian law expressly provides shall be utilized to interpret the constitution in doubtful cases.[51] The dissenting justices insisted that to count such prior services is to require additional compensation in violation of the employment contract, and showed that natural law, like a written constitution, can often be quoted by both sides, since "one of the principles of this Law is that respecting vested rights . . . of private property."[52] Their efforts to distinguish the issue in this case from that involved in the pension decision relied upon by the majority were rather lame, and as is so often the case with our own Court, the change from a unanimous ruling in 1933 to a seven to six vote four years later can be explained only in one way: changes in the personnel of the Court.

IV. POWERS THAT CANNOT BE SURRENDERED BY CONTRACT, NOR CURBED BY PRIVATE AGREEMENTS

These cases may best be considered under three headings: control of the currency, tax exemption, and police power. A fourth heading, eminent domain, would be necessary to examine the rulings of our own courts;[53] but this is an issue that does not seem to have been involved as yet in Colombian litigation.

Control of the Currency. Among the powers specifically delegated to the Colombian Congress is that "to fix the fineness, weight, type, and denomination of money."[54] This power, the Court has held, cannot be surrendered by contract or curbed by private agreements,[55] and concerns a field in which the public interest must prevail against private rights.[56]

[50] Under Colombian practice, such extra justices are chosen by lot from a list prepared annually by the Court itself. *Codigo Judicial*, Arts. 57–67.

[51] Law 153 of 1887, Art. 4. [52] *G.J.* 45: 723.

[53] See Pennsylvania Hospital v. Philadelphia, 245 U.S. 20 (1917).

[54] Const. 1886, Art. 69 (14); now Art. 76 (17) of the codification of 1945.

[55] Acuerdo 7 of May 17, 1921, *G.J.* 28 (#1474–5): 305, 307.

[56] Sentence of Feb. 25, 1937, *G.J.* 44 (#1920–1): 613, 621.

Most legislation altering the monetary system or decreasing the amount of precious metal in the peso has gone unchallenged, even when it has concerned public contracts. Of the few cases that have been brought, two were dismissed because the party complaining of an injury to his pocketbook actually profited from the legislation.[57] In a third the majority, three members dissenting, summarily rejected a plea that the government certificates issued in the days of a silver standard should be redeemed at other than the purely arbitrary rate set by the government in changing to a gold standard.[58] An action brought to nullify a 1933 statute curbing the contractual rights of the Banco de la Republica to deal freely in gold in the export market was dismissed as moot when the statute was repealed before the case could be decided.[59]

The first important opinion on this problem was rendered on May 17, 1921. Certain private banks had been authorized, pursuant to a 1905 statute, to issue bank notes payable against their treasury. A 1919 statute provided that in the future no such notes should be issued in denominations of $10.00 pesos or less, and that all such small denomination notes then in circulation must be recalled. The act was sustained save for a clause discussed below, a unanimous Court concluding that under the 1905 act these banks had merely been granted a license to issue notes, subject to cancellation at will. The opinion added: "Contractual arrangements between the government and private persons cannot compromise the prerogatives that belong to the nation . . . under the Constitution; so that . . . every stipulation that impairs these powers would be empty. . . . Hence, even if the right to issue these hypothecary notes emanated from contractual agreements anterior to Law 108 of 1919, the legislature could have limited it as it has done by the article attached."[60]

The doctrine was again applied in the decision of February 25, 1936. Following the world-wide trend, Law 46 of 1933 provided that debts due in gold should be paid peso for peso in paper money, and that debts payable in a foreign currency should be paid in Colombian paper at a rate in keeping with the exchange rate for such

[57] Sentence of Dec. 11, 1913, *G.J.* 29 (#1502): 109, and Acuerdo 28 of Aug. 28, 1917, *G.J.* 26 (#1360): 217.

[58] Acuerdo 3 of Oct. 20, 1920, *G.J.* 28 (#1460): 193.

[59] Sentence of July 28, 1935, *G.J.* 42 (#1897): 6.

[60] Acuerdo 7 of May 17, 1921, *supra* note 55.

foreign currency "on the date on which the obligation was incurred." Both provisions were unanimously sustained, the opinion stating: "The monetary system of a country belongs to its public law. This, in its application and in its consequences, governs with us with the criterion of the unconditional primacy of the public interest over private interests, this being characteristic of democracy." In short, a stipulation as to the monetary unit or its value "is not part of the contract" that must be regarded as sacred by the law, since this would curb "the power conceded solely to the Congress by the Constitution."[61]

It is interesting to compare the language of Chief Justice Hughes in sustaining our own "gold clause" legislation: "Contracts, however express, cannot fetter the constitutional authority of the Congress. Contracts may create rights of property, but when contracts deal with a subject-matter which lies within the control of the Congress, they have a congenital infirmity. Parties cannot remove their transactions from the reach of dominant constitutional power by making contracts about them."[62] However, unlike the Colombian Court, our Court declined to apply this doctrine to the government's own contracts.[63]

In spite of the strong language quoted above, the opinions of the Colombian Court make it quite clear that even the money powers of the Congress are not without judicially enforced limits. As we have seen, nickel cannot be demonetized unless outstanding nickel coins are exchanged for coins of the new types replacing them, since failure to do this would amount to confiscation of a large share of the value of such outstanding coins.[64] An equally strong ruling was made in the decision of May 17, 1921, holding that Congress can prohibit the issuance of new bank notes in denominations that would compete with the government's paper money. While conceding that ultimately all such outstanding notes must be withdrawn from circulation, the majority held unconstitutional the added requirement that they must be retired within two years, one fourth every six months. This time limit, they held, was void

[61] Sentence of Feb. 25, 1937, *G.J.* 44 (#1920–1): 613, 621, 622.

[62] Norman v. Baltimore and Ohio R. Co., 294 U.S. 240, 307–8 (1935).

[63] Perry v. United States, 294 U.S. 330 (1935). But Congress, by a joint resolution of Aug. 27, 1935, rendered the decision abortive by forbidding suits on such contracts. 49 Stat. 938, 939, 31 U.S.C. s. 773b.

[64] Sentence of May 30, 1911, *supra* note 12.

for "lack of equity and justice," since the banks could not in turn call the loans serving as security for these notes, and hence would encounter "enormous and grave difficulties" in complying with the law.[65] Only one justice dissented.

The 1911 nickel coin ruling clearly was based, with sound reason, upon Article 31—now Article 30—of the constitution. The 1931 opinion, however, failed to specify any provision of the constitution that is violated by a law merely because it is not equitable. Possibly it also had Article 31 in mind; but there is authority for the doctrine that the principles of divine and natural law, which are "anterior to and superior to the state," are binding upon the Congress and enforceable in the courts,[66] and it seems reasonable to surmise that it was such a doctrine that was in the Court's mind in writing this opinion. Our own courts, of course, would base such a ruling upon the due process doctrine that statutes are unconstitutional if so unreasonable as to do violence to basic principles of justice—a rule that has sometimes been attacked as merely "natural law" dogma in disguise.[67]

The only other case in which vested rights have been held to prevail against the money powers of Congress is the 1930 decision, mentioned earlier, which held that an express contract with the government may control the rate at which the face value of a silver peso obligation will be converted into gold pesos.[68] That case was pending in the Court for over five years before a decision was reached by an eight-to-four vote. Although the ruling would seem broad enough to invalidate the repudiation of a gold clause in government bonds, it was ignored by the Court when it sustained the 1933 legislation in its decision of February 25, 1937.[69]

Tax Exemption. Although the issue has seldom been litigated and cannot yet be considered settled, the Colombian cases indicate a progression from acceptance of contractual immunities from taxation to a position that at least throws a very serious shadow of doubt over the validity of such agreements.

The story opens with a decision that cannot properly be said to

[65] Acuerdo 7 of May 17, 1921, *G.J.* 28 (#1474–5): 305, 307.

[66] The quotation is from the sentence of Feb. 25, 1937, *G.J.* 44 (#1920–1): 613, 619, which was discussed above at note 61. And see note 51.

[67] See the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Black in Adamson v. California, 332 U.S. 46, 68 (1947); J. A. C. Grant, "The Natural Law Background of Due Process," *Columbia Law Rev.*, Vol. 31, p. 56 (1931).

[68] See *supra* note 14. [69] See *supra* note 61.

involve tax exemption, although the effect of the advance payment of taxes gave a very similar result. Under an 1888 statute, one desiring to acquire title to an emerald mine was first required to pay all taxes that would be due on the mine for the next twenty years. These taxes amounted to only $5.00 pesos per year for an average mine, or $100.00 pesos for the twenty years; larger mines paid at a rate of $5.00 pesos per year per square kilometer. In 1905, the government, as a part of its campaign to gain a monopoly over the entire emerald industry, increased the tax on producing mines to $60,000.00 pesos per year; and a 1907 statute gave the government the option of collecting this tax or a tax of ten per cent of the gross revenue from the sale of emeralds. These new taxes were held unconstitutional as to mines upon which the taxes had been paid in advance, whose owners, the Court held, "had acquired a perfected legal right, which cannot be disavowed or injured by later laws."[70]

A clear-cut issue of tax exemption was raised by Article 38 of Law 109 of 1933, which provided: "All articles introduced through the customs houses of the Republic shall pay the corresponding duties. The government shall provide for the procedure whereby public and private organizations may obtain from the national treasury the restitution of the duties from which they may be exempted by law or by contracts." The Court found nothing wrong with this act in so far as it pertained to exemptions provided for only by law, but it unanimously held that it was unconstitutional as to contractual exemptions. The Court was impressed with the petitioners' arguments that the proposed procedure would result in a loss of interest on the money tied up pending its recovery, and might even make it impossible for the tax exempt party to clear his merchandise through customs if he found himself lacking the necessary funds to pay the duties.[71]

The issue does not seem to have arisen again until 1935, when one G. Valencia sought a ruling that a clause in a 1919 contract with the Tropical Oil Company was unconstitutional. The clause read: "The government binds itself not to levy an export or other tax on the products that are exported by virtue of the present contract." The Court dismissed the request as improperly brought in a popular action, as the validity of a contract may be questioned

[70] Resolution of Aug. 2, 1912, *G.J.* 22 (#1091–2): 2, 5.
[71] Sentence of July 28, 1924, *G.J.* 31 (#1599): 53.

only by a party in interest in a regular suit in a trial court.[72]

The next case grew out of a 1932 agreement with the Banco Hipotecario whereby the government, in return for certain conditions accepted by the bank, agreed that all mortgages and negotiable notes issued by the latter "shall be free from all taxes save for the income tax that is now in force." Later, the income tax rates were increased, the statute specifically providing that the new rates should apply to the mortgages and notes issued by this bank save when these called for an interest rate not exceeding six per cent. The manager of one of the units of the bank brought a popular action against this statute, alleging that it infringed the contractual rights of his company. In reply, the Attorney-General contended that the phrase "income tax that is now in force" is "a mobile and changing expression that comprehends the mutations that this tax may undergo in the different years in which the tax is in effect." Before a ruling could be made, the Congress repealed the disputed clause, and the case was dismissed as moot[73] without passing upon the appropriateness of a popular action as a means of settling the dispute as to the proper interpretation of the contract.

Two other cases were already pending in the Supreme Court growing out of suits brought against the nation by the Colombian Petroleum Company and the South American Gulf Oil Company to recover taxes paid under protest. In 1931, both companies entered into arrangements whereby title to all of their properties will pass to the state at the end of fifty years; meanwhile, their properties and operations "shall enjoy an exemption from all national, departmental, and municipal taxes. . . . The petroleum produced shall not be taxed in any manner. . . . The national stamp tax and the income tax are excepted." The cases turned upon the construction and validity of this qualified tax exemption.

In 1935, Colombia completely overhauled its income tax law, adding not only a graduated excess profits tax but a graduated property tax as well, the rate doubling for large holdings of unde-

[72] Sentence of Dec. 6, 1935, *G.J.* 42 (#1899): 292, 296. This is a well established rule of jurisdiction. See sentence of Dec. 14, 1931, *G.J.* 38 (#1877): 541. The same is true of disputes as to the title to property claimed alike by the government and by private parties. Compare the sentence of Dec. 9, 1946, *G.J.* 61 (#2042–4): 623, dismissing a popular action for lack of jurisdiction, with the rulings of the General Division (3 justices) in J. del Castillo *et al.* contra la Nación, April 25, 1942, *G.J.* 53 (#1984–5): 519, and Colegio de Jesús, María y José contra la Nación, June 2, 1943, *G.J.* 55 (#1996–7): 473.

[73] Sentence of May 4, 1938, *G.J.* 46 (#1935): 386.

veloped lands. The statute declared that "for all legal effects, the income tax, the additional excess profits tax, and the complementary property tax shall be considered as a single indivisible whole." Both companies insisted that such a statutory declaration of policy could not prevail against their contractual rights, and that this property tax was not an income tax, since it levied a higher rate upon lands producing no revenue than upon productive holdings.

In relatively long but unanimous opinions, the Court upheld the tax as applied to each company. It is difficult to say just what the basis of these rulings was. The larger part of the opinion in the principal case was devoted to an elaborate exposition of the doctrine that the power to tax is inalienable. Starting with the general rule that the government is as bound by its contracts as are individuals, it pointed out that there are exceptions where this ceases to be true, as when public health or safety are at stake. It then advanced the thesis that the primary characteristic of a government of laws is its recognition of the principle of equality before the law, including equality of taxation, the very opposite of special privilege. Hence it concluded that "the distribution of the tax burden among the citizens constitutionally cannot be done save on the basis of the principle of democratic equality," from which "it follows that it would not be merely illegal but unconstitutional to pretend, as the plaintiff does, that he enjoys a position of fiscal immunity, having as its reason that the extraordinary prerogatives granted to him embrace the entire Colombian tax system, present and future, with the single exception of two taxes."[74]

This appears to be a flat rejection of even the qualified doctrine of our own Supreme Court, perhaps best stated by Chief Justice Waite, *obiter*, in Stone v. Mississippi: "No government . . . can bargain away its whole power of taxation, for that would be substantially abdication. . . . For a consideration it may, in the exercise of reasonable discretion, and for the public good, surrender a part of its powers in this particular."[75] If any set of facts can meet this test, those involved in these two Colombian cases would seem to do so. It appears idle to talk of the right of others to demand that these companies be taxed the same as they; *their* properties do not pass to the state in fifty years. The bargain may have been a good or a bad one; but certainly our courts today would hold that

[74] Colombian Petroleum Co. contra el Estado, Oct. 7, 1938, *G.J.* 47 (#1942): 374, 378. [75] 101 U.S. 814, 820 (1880).

it was made in the exercise of a "reasonable discretion" and is binding. For a contrary view, one must turn to such repudiated decisions as the 1853 ruling of the Ohio supreme court in Bank of Toledo v. Bond, which held: "The right of taxation, like the right of eminent domain, . . . constitutes . . . a most important trust of civil authority. . . . Neither of them can be bartered off by the legislature, either in whole or in part, or in any manner abridged or restrained in its exercise by contract."[76]

But the opinion does not stop here. Having concluded that "the Court does not accept the thesis" of the plaintiff "that he was contractually exonerated from the payment of all taxes, save two," it then adds that these new taxes "on property and excess profits are not different from the tax on income."[77] And in the companion case it wrote: "The Nation has not failed to fulfill its contractual stipulations and obligations, since . . . the income tax was excepted and since the taxes the collection of which the plaintiff protests are merely complementary and additional to it."[78] Even the concession that the Attorney-General was willing to make, that the taxes were unconstitutional as applied to properties not producing revenue, was rejected as unsound. This is strict construction with a vengeance.

Police Power. No rule is better settled in our own constitutional law than that the government, in the exercise of its police powers, may override public and private contracts alike. As stated by Chief Justice Waite: "No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves cannot do it, much less their servants";[79] and of course the same is true of public safety.

The development of a similar doctrine in Colombia was inevitable, especially in view of the fact that Article 31 itself expressly provides: "When from the application of a statute passed for reasons of public utility or social interest, a conflict results between the rights of private persons and the necessity recognized by the same statute, the private interest must yield to the public or social interest"; and that there is the further provision: "The authorities shall inspect the industries and professions in all that relates to the

[76] 1 Ohio State 623, 701 (1853). Chief Justice Bartley's opinion placed great reliance upon the doctrines of natural law in defending this thesis, and quoted both Rutherford's *Institutes of Natural Law* and Puffendorf.

[77] *Op. cit.* at 378–9.

[78] South American Gulf Oil Co. contra el Estado, Oct. 7, 1938, *G.J.* 47 (#1942): 380, 384.

[79] Stone v. Mississippi, 101 U.S. 814, 819 (1880).

public morals, safety and health."[80] The phraseology used in the latter clause does not seem too strong, but in 1925 the Court, pointing out that in the debates of the constitutional convention of 1886 "the words inspect and restrict were used without distinction" in the discussions of the clause, definitely held that it is a grant of power to regulate as well as to inspect.[81] Although as recently as 1924 the Court had intimated a possibility that the authority given does not go so far as to grant power to override express contractual agreements of the government itself,[82] the contrary view was definitely established the following year[83] and has not been questioned since.

Our own courts have had little difficulty in applying the doctrine save in delimiting the scope of "public safety": Is it restricted to mere *physical* safety, or does it encompass as well the economic security of the citizen and hence of the body politic as a whole? It took the Great Depression to break down the older and broader barriers to governmental action and to establish the present doctrine that accepts mortgage moratoria, and even state bankruptcy laws, as valid police power measures. In doing this, we were merely paralleling the Colombian decisions.

The first important ruling did not come until September 25, 1925. In revising the banking laws, the Congress provided that banks accepting savings accounts must maintain certain reserves and that all buildings serving as security for loans must be insured in favor of the bank. In a unanimous opinion, the Court sustained the law against the contention that many banks had been granted rights to conduct their business free from such limitations. The opinion stated that since the constitution recognizes "the power to regulate the conduct of businesses as to activities pertaining to the public morals, safety, and health, the banks cannot allege any vested rights with respect to whatever legal requirements tend to regulate or restrict the conduct of the banking business for reasons of public security."[84]

Three months later, a second banking act came before the Court, one section of which prohibited the use of reserve funds for the payment of dividends. The petitioner attempted to prove that many banks had contractual rights to do this. The Court did not find

[80] Const. 1886, Art. 44, now Art. 39 of the codification of 1945. Since 1936, it has read "professions and employments" instead of "industries and professions."

[81] Sentence of Sept. 25, 1925, *G.J.* 32 (#1646–7): 17.

[82] Sentence of Nov. 18, 1924, *G.J.* 31 (#1611): 149, 150.

[83] See the case cited *supra*, note 81.

[84] Sentence of Sept. 25, 1925, *G.J.* 32(#1646–7): 17, 17–8.

such contracts; but it added, to clinch the decision, that even supposing such "vested rights against the state, still the Article . . . attacked would not be unconstitutional, since . . . laws passed for motives of public morals, health, or utility have general effect immediately, even though their application results in a conflict with the rights of individuals, since in such case private interest must yield to public interest."

Many other sections of the law were attacked, but upon the ground that they interfered with freedom of contract rather than vested rights, or that they delegated powers to the wrong persons or without adequate safeguards. The balance of the ruling thus falls within the realm of separation of powers or due process rather than of our contract clause; but it is interesting to note that certain portions of the law were held unconstitutional because of "a real arbitrariness," the majority insisting that "this high power of police . . . extends, as is obvious, to such measures as may be reasonable and equitable, and have an appropriate relation to the subject-matter of the regulation, in such a way that it clearly appears that the respective law tends toward the public welfare or the prevention of an offense or social danger."[85] Some concurring or dissenting opinions—there were eight in all—went even farther in their efforts to enhance the rôle of the Court.

In spite of the strong language of these opinions, no effort was made to invalidate further legislation of this type until the emergency legislation of the depression years gave rise to the most severe test of all. In a series of laws passed in 1932 and 1933, the government rode roughshod over private and public contracts alike. One had the effect of reducing interest rates on existing obligations to six per cent in the case of debts guaranteed by a lien on tangible property and eight per cent in the case of unsecured loans, and a second lowered the interest rate on the bonds of the Departments and municipalities to six per cent. These measures were cast in the frame of tax laws, but the joker lay in the fact that the debtor was authorized to collect the tax at its source—his pocketbook—*and to retain it.* A reduction of the principal amount of all debts by thirty per cent was made effective by forbidding all foreclosures for a term of years unless the creditor agreed to accept seventy per cent of the original sum, with a similar reduction in the unpaid interest. As we have seen above, gold was withdrawn from circulation and all debts were made payable in paper money, peso for peso. Debts

[85] *Id.* at 170, 172.

due in a foreign currency were declared payable in Colombian paper, the amount to be determined by the rate of exchange as of the day when the obligation arose.

The Court unanimously sustained all of these statutes. Its reasoning may be summarized by quoting a single phrase: "Law is not logical but economically ethical."[86] Continuing, it drew a parallel from the private law of contracts: agreements may cease to be binding because of mistake of fact or alteration of the circumstances, both of which it felt were present here. The principal opinion then proceeded to divide individual rights into absolute and relative rights. Those in the former category, including personal liberty and the inviolability of the home and of private correspondence, it felt had existed prior to and are above government, a principal reason for the creation of political institutions having been to furnish guarantees for these rights. But it could see no reason for putting the monetary system of a country into this category; instead, in this field we must accept "the unconditional primacy of the public interest over private rights."[87] The concurring opinion expressed a wholehearted acceptance of a similar doctrine: "Before and above positive laws exist eternal, divine, and natural laws."[88] It found no conflict between these "higher laws" and the statutes under attack, nor between these statutes and the written constitution.

Both opinions took it for granted that what had been said applied equally to the reduction of interest rates on the bonds of local governments, the principal opinion adding that possibly this statute might also be sustained as a tax measure since it would, unlike the act concerning private debts, yield a profit to the public treasury.[89] Our own courts, of course, would reject such a contention unless it were advanced under the guise of a bankruptcy law.

The consequence of the cases is clear: as in our own law, the police power *overrides* contracts, including even those of the government itself. In an opinion written on behalf of a unanimous Court, Mr. Justice Mújica sought to rationalize the rule by stating it in a more qualified manner; such exertions of the police power do not evade or ignore contractual rights, but merely affect them "indirectly."[90] A more straightforward and sounder view is championed by Professor Tulio Enrique Tascón, formerly president of the Ad-

[86] Sentence of Feb. 25, 1937, *G.J.* 44 (#1920–1): 613, 616.
[87] *Id.* at 621. [88] *Id.* at 623. [89] *Id.* at 617.
[90] Colombian Petroleum Co. contra el Estado, *supra* note 74 at 377.

ministrative Court, when he states that the sole limitation on the power of the government is that the action be taken on behalf of the public morals, safety, or health; that "the state incurs no responsibility for injuries that may be caused by its administrative and legislative measures dictated for these reasons, since rather . . . it would be answerable if, knowing that an activity had turned harmful for the public morals, safety, or health, it did not limit or suspend it."[91]

V. CONCLUSION

Although the Colombian cases are so numerous that to exhaust them would unduly lengthen this article, all of the more important ones have now been discussed. Many similarities and some differences between the rules applied by the Colombian Court and those applied by our own Court have been noted as the study progressed, and no doubt the reader, drawing upon his knowledge of our case law, has noted others. No effort will be made at summarization. But I am sure that the reader has been as impressed, as I have been, with the many parallels.

These parallels are the more surprising because there is so little evidence of direct borrowing. Certainly the Colombian decisions have remained largely unknown to our judges and even to our scholars, who have not been aware of the important rôle played by the Supreme Court in Colombian constitutional law. It is even doubtful if those who wrote the Judiciary Act of 1939 realized that in providing that the Attorney-General should have a right to become a party in constitutional litigation they were copying an idea long exploited in Colombia and other Latin American countries. While Colombian judges and scholars have not been equally uninformed as to our system, there has been no real interest in the study of United States precedents in that country. If a judge or scholar desires to go beyond the Colombian law, he is far more apt to turn to the French or other Continental writers, even on constitutional questions. The Supreme Court library, to be sure, does have an almost complete set of the Law Edition of our Supreme Court Reports; but during the several months that I frequented that library I never once noted a volume having been withdrawn for use. One can only conclude that the Colombian Court has worked out its rules from native materials, with only occasional borrowing from us.

[91] T. E. Tascón, *Derecho Constitucional Colombiano* (3d ed., 1944), 111–2.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

THE REPEAL OF P.R. IN NEW YORK CITY—TEN YEARS IN RETROSPECT*

BELLE ZELLER
Brooklyn College
AND
HUGH A. BONE
University of Washington

In November, 1936, the voters of New York City approved the use of proportional representation for the election of members of the city council by a vote of 923,186 to 555,217, after its opponents had failed by court action to prevent the question from being submitted.[1] By a combination of Democratic delegates from New York City and machine Republicans from upstate, the constitutional convention of 1938 provided the people of the entire state an opportunity to reject decisively an amendment that would have prohibited the use of P.R. in any election in the state.[2] Still another unsuccessful attempt to abolish the system was made in 1940—this time through initiative petition under provision of the New York City charter.[3] With the entry of the United States into the war, no further serious effort at repeal was made until 1947, although dissatisfaction with the results of the councilmanic elections continued to be heard even above the din of war.[4]

How did the forces line up in the intense battle over P.R. in the campaign of 1947? The political parties, of course, had a direct stake in the results of the campaign. On the one side were the Democratic and Republican county organizations urging repeal of P.R., while the American Labor party, the Liberal party, the Communist party, and the Fusion forces worked for retention of the system. On the old board of aldermen

* The authors are indebted to Dr. George H. Hallett, Jr., for access to the files of the Citizens Union on proportional representation and for his valuable criticism and suggestions. The conclusions reached are entirely those of the authors.

[1] Mooney v. Cohen (272 N. Y. 33, Remittitur Amended, 272 N. Y. 597, 1936). Genuine public interest in proportional representation came with the legislative investigation of the Walker administration by Judge Samuel Seabury in 1931 and 1932. In 1934, the state legislature authorized the appointment of a charter commission, and in 1936 the resulting body recommended that the question of proportional representation be submitted to the voters of New York City. See George H. McCaffrey, "Proportional Representation in New York City," in this REVIEW, Vol. 33 (Oct., 1939), pp. 841–852.

[2] The vote in the state was 1,554,404 to 627,123; in New York City, the amendment was rejected by 775,038 to 355,031.

[3] In 1940, the proposition was defeated in the city by a vote of 782,768 to 565,879.

[4] Companion bills to abolish P.R. were introduced in the state legislature in 1944 by Democratic Senator Dunnigan (S. Int. 149) and Democratic Assemblyman Rudd (A. Int. 216). Neither bill passed.

elected through single-member districts, the Democrats had a virtual one-party monopoly of representation. Although the Republicans enjoyed greater influence and representation in the new council, the leaders could not always prevent the nomination and election of so-called independent Republicans through P.R. Above all, the Republicans could not afford to have the Democratic party alone exploit the issue of Communism, which was the battle-song of 1947.

The five Democratic county leaders spoke with one voice. The leader of Tammany Hall, Frank J. Sampson, urged the voters to "throw out this Stalin Frankenstein," and later predicted that the high registration figure of 2,356,248 for an off-year meant that "P.R., a foreign political theory that has created confusion with the blessing of the Kremlin, will meet its Waterloo on the sidewalks of New York."[5] The Bronx Democratic leader, Edward J. Flynn predicted that "the voters will overwhelmingly discard this complicated system, responsible for the election of two Communists in the council."

Of the five Republican leaders, Thomas J. Curran, chairman of the New York County Republican Committee and also secretary of state in Governor Dewey's administration, was the last officially to urge the repeal of P.R. "P.R.," he asserted, "has resulted in a disproportionate representation for a well disciplined, organized group whose main purpose is to alter the form of our government. Communists well recognize any situation which tends to further that aim. Frankly, we recognize it, too. Also, let us not forget that Hitler used proportional representation to take power unto himself in Germany."[6]

The Republicans, however, were not solidly behind the repeal of P.R. Much significance was attached to Governor Dewey's silence on the question at a time when he urged passage of all other proposals before the voters that year. The executive director of the Liberal party challenged the Governor to speak out: "You are a registered voter in New York City as well as the leader of your party in New York State, and it is incumbent upon you to make clear whether the position against P.R. taken by the five county Republican leaders accurately reflects your views. Are you, too, against proportional representation? It would be obvious that your silence in this important issue could be interpreted only as tacit approval of a united front between Tammany and the Republican party of New York City."[7]

[5] Cf. *New York Post*, Oct. 13, 1947. Sampson personally participated actively in the campaign. He appeared dramatically in Vito Marcantonio's district, and spoke against P. R. from a sound-truck on the "lucky corner" where Mayor LaGuardia closed his political campaigns. Cf. *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1947.

[6] *New York Journal American*, Oct. 10, 1947.

[7] *New York Times*, Oct. 7 and 18, 1947. The Governor maintained silence on this "local matter" except to announce during the last week of the campaign that he would vote "yes" on all questions before the voters that year.

The New York Young Republican Club and the Young Women's Republican Club of New York would not follow the position of their county leader Curran, and other Republicans spoke out in opposition to the party leaders on the issue. In fact, a majority of the Republican councilmen opposed the position of the county leaders on P.R.

On the other hand, Robert Moses, prominent Republican, participated actively in the campaign and vigorously opposed P.R. as a threat to democratic government. "No democratic system," he declared, "can exist in any form of government save under the two-party system. I want to see the two-party system restored in our city, instead of the three, four, and five party system which now exists."[8]

C. C. Burlingham, former president of the American Bar Association, charged that "the Republican leaders are willing to sacrifice their party in order to be rid of the two Communists, who, thanks to P.R., are members of the Council." Fiorello La Guardia spoke through his widow, who made public the following statement, prepared shortly before his death on September 20, 1947: "To repeal P.R. now would be distinctly a step backward. Surely no one can say that the council (which is elected by P.R.) has been very kind to me. Yet it is the American system, and opposition is not only necessary but wholesome to government."[9] Samuel Seabury disclosed that "Governor Roosevelt told Dr. George Hallett that he thought proportional representation, with its opportunity for minority expression and criticism, would be a substantial charter improvement."[10]

Despite vigorous opposition of the Democratic leaders, Mayor O'Dwyer refused to take a stand on the question, but when pressed repeatedly for his position stated: "I do not believe that on this question the prestige of the office of mayor should be used either for or against it . . . I have, however, made it known to every person in this administration that they are free to take any position that is in the best interest of the city. You will find that key members of this administration are on opposite sides on this question."[11] It was not surprising, therefore, to find Louis Cohen, assistant to the Mayor, playing a prominent rôle in this and earlier cam-

[8] *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 28, 1947. It should be said, however, that in 1946, without P.R., there were a number of four-cornered races, especially for the state senate and assembly, from Bronx county, in which each of the four candidates received a substantial number of votes. See especially the returns from the 24th, 26th, and 28th senatorial districts and from the 2nd, 3rd and 8th assembly districts, in which candidates with less than half the votes secured all the representation at the expense of a divided majority. There would have been an even larger number of such races throughout the city but for the endorsement of some Democratic and Republican candidates by the Liberal party or the American Labor party.

[9] *PM* [New York], Nov. 2, 1947, and *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1947.

[10] *New York Times*, Oct. 9, 1947.

[11] *New York Times*, Oct. 31, 1947.

paigns to abolish P.R., while Paul L. Ross, his administrative secretary, was urging continuance of the system.[12]

However, the battle over P.R. was not left entirely to be waged by the professional politicians and public officials. Unofficial private organizations and the newspapers of the city participated with such vigor as to enliven what otherwise would bave been a dull off-year election. On the one side was the Keep Proportional Representation Committee, with Samuel Seabury as honorary chairman and Richard S. Childs as chairman, and on the other the Citizens Committee to Repeal Proportional Representation, with George F. Mand as chairman.[13] These two organizations tended to coördinate the activities of the numerous other organizations on each side participating in the campaign.

Among prominent private organizations favoring the retention of P.R. were: Americans for Democratic Action; American Veterans Committee; Citizens Union of the City of New York; City Club of New York; Commerce and Industry Association; Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations; Greater New York C. I. O. Political Action Committee; International Ladies Garment Workers Union; International Workers Orders; League of Women Voters; National Council of Jewish Women; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Lawyers Guild; Progressive Citizens of America; United Neighborhood Houses; and Women's City Club of New York. Prominent among organizations favoring repeal were: American Federation of Labor (Central Trades and Labor Council); American Legion; Catholic War Veterans; Disabled American War Veterans; New York City Federation of Women's Clubs; Veterans of Foreign Wars; New York Board of Trade; and Veterans Democratic League. Many local chambers of commerce, property owners, and taxpayer groups conducted campaigns for repeal going far beyond the passage of formal resolutions released to the press. Such local groups made a point of stressing the argument that P.R. failed to provide for genuine representation of localities within the borough.[14]

The newspapers in the city were not neutral. Not only did they open

[12] Of Mr. O'Dwyer's colleagues on the Board of Estimate, Comptroller Lazarus Joseph remained silent throughout the campaign, while Vincent R. Impellitteri, president of the city council, and Hugo E. Rogers, president of the Borough of Manhattan, spoke out for repeal during the last week of the campaign. Messrs. Joseph, Impellitteri, and Rogers had been endorsed for election in 1945 by both the Democratic and American Labor parties.

[13] According to the sworn statement of its assistant treasurer, filed with the secretary of state on Nov. 24, 1947, the Citizens Committee to Repeal P. R. was financed wholly by the five Democratic county committees in New York City.

[14] See debate on this point between the Citizens Union and the *Brooklyn Eagle* in *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 27 and Aug. 10, 1947.

their news columns, accompanied by photographs, to report the activities of political parties and organizations active in the campaign, but they carried an unprecedented number of letters to the editors which in some newspapers took on the appearance of a lively debate. Nor did they leave any one in doubt as to where they stood. They stated their editorial positions early in the campaign and repeated their views more vigorously as the campaign wore on and came to a dramatic finish. For repeal were the *News*, *Mirror*, *Journal-American*, *Times*, *World Telegram*, and *Sun;* while the *Herald Tribune*, *Post*, *P.M.*, and *Daily Worker* urged the voters to reject the repeal proposition. In other words, city-wide newspapers with an aggregate daily circulation of 4,845,955 and a Sunday circulation of 8,347,520 urged repeal, while the daily circulation of the pro-P.R. newspapers was only 813,325 and the Sunday circulation only 979,850.

In addition, such important daily borough papers worked actively for repeal as the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *Jamaica Long Island Press*, the *Long Island Star Journal*, and the *Staten Island Advance;* while the *Bronx Home News* took a position in favor of P.R. The weekly *Brooklyn Tablet* and *New York Catholic News*, urged repeal, while the weekly *Amsterdam News* and *New York People's Voice* opposed. Here, too, the circulation of the borough and weekly papers for repeal exceeded by far that of similar papers on the other side.

It was undoubtedly the editorial position of the *New York Times* that attracted most attention. Pro-repeal organizations made much of the support of this respected paper, while the forces on the other side devoted a great deal of attention to pointing out weaknesses in the arguments presented by the *Times* in its four editorials entitled "The Record on P.R.," published during October 27-30.[15] Both sides also called attention to the changed position of the *Times* on the question. When, in 1936, New Yorkers voted for a new charter with P. R., the *Times*, in an editorial voicing "last-minute reminders," said: "If you wish to plump for a somewhat doubtful experiment with Proportional Representation in a limited field, vote 'Yes' on Question 2 Local." After the first council was elected under P.R., the *Times* "endorsed the workings of Proportional Representation and defended it against critics."[16] However, in 1941 and thereafter, the *Times* began to point out the "shortcomings" of P.R., and it continued to do so until the paper announced, on April 2, 1947, its decision to support the movement for repeal.[17]

[15] In particular, mention should be made of the reply by the *New York Herald Tribune* on Oct. 28, 1947, and by Samuel Seabury in the *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1947.

[16] *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1947.

[17] Among other important New York City newspapers which changed their

TABLE I

VOTER STRENGTH AND REPRESENTATION BY PARTIES*

	1937			1939			1941			1943			1945		
	No. Seats	% Seats	% Votes	No. Seats	% Seats	% Votes	No. Seats	% Seats	% Votes	No. Seats	% Seats	% Votes	No. Seats	% Seats	% Votes
Democratic	13	50.0	47.0	14	66.5	65.5	17	65.5	64.0	10	59.0	53.0	14	60.0	59.0
Republican	3	11.5	8.5	2	9.5	8.0	2	7.5	6.5	3	17.0	22.0	3	13.0	15.0
Insurgent Democratic	2	8.0	7.0	1	5.0	4.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
American Labor	5	19.0	21.0	2	9.5	11.5	3	11.5	11.5	2	12.0	11.0	2	9.0	10.0
Fusion	3	11.5	10.5	2	9.5	11.0	3	11.5	12.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Liberal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	9.0	7.0
Communist	—	—	2.5	—	—	—	1	4.0	5.5	2	12.0	14.0	2	9.0	9.0
Other	—	—	3.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—			—			—			—			—		
Total	26			21			26			17			23		

* The figures used in the third column for each election represent the votes cast for persons on the deciding count, i.e., after the elimination of hopeless candidates and the transfer of their votes.

There is no doubt that the one issue above all others responsible for the repeal of P.R. in 1947 was Communism. At the last three councilmanic elections, when one or two Communists were elected to the city council, American-Soviet relations were friendly. (See Table I.) After the war, anti-Communist sentiment became very vocal; and the advocates of repeal repeatedly made the erroneous statement during the campaign that nowhere else in the United states were Communists honored by elective public office.[18] In fact, they looked abroad and charged P.R. with bringing dictators to Germany and Italy.[19] The friends of P.R. were quick to reply that stable and civilized nations—Ireland, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark—operated under P.R. for the last quarter-century or more with the exception of the period of German occupation in some of them.[20]

The presence of two Communists in the council in 1947 was submitted again and again by opponents of P.R. as evidence that the system resulted

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editorial position on the question between 1936 and 1947 were the *Daily News*, which supported P. R. in 1936; the *Post*, which urged repeal in 1945; and the *World Telegram*, a Scripps-Howard paper which supported P. R. for New York before 1947. The Scripps-Howard paper in Cincinnati, the *Post*, continues to support P. R. for that city. Special mention should be made of the *Herald Tribune's* consistent and vigorous support of P. R. on an intelligently high plane throughout the ten-year experiment, culminating in 1947 in large coverage of news, special features, editorials, and letters to the editor. "The Clubhouse Vote Sees Victory," by Murray Snyder, in the *Herald Tribune* (Oct. 21, 1947), and Amos Landman's article with illustrations entitled "New Yorkers Face Vote on P. R.," in *P. M.* (June 19, 1947) should be noted as first-rate.

[18] Cf. Citizens Committee for the Repeal of P. R., *P. R. Exposed* (1947), p. 6. The election of Communists to local offices in several Midwestern states between 1931 and 1934 can be cited. During the campaign, Herbert Pell, former congressman and minister to Portugal and Hungary, advanced the argument in his plea for continuance of P. R. that the fact that Communists under P. R. can elect some of their own candidates should keep them from boring within the major parties, as did Wayne Wheeler, leader of the Anti-Saloon League, with such great success. Cf. "P. R. and the Communists" (mimeo, 1947).

[19] See Mr. Curran's statement above, p. 1128. The advocates of repeal leaned heavily upon the writings and support of Professor Ferdinand A. Hermens, long a critic of P. R. See his *Democracy or Anarchy; A Study of Proportional Representation* (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1941), and *Democracy and Proportional Representation* (Public Policy Pamphlet, No. 31, University of Chicago Press, 1940).

[20] The debate on P. R. in foreign countries continued into 1948, when Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Citizens Union, pointed out that in the Italian parliamentary elections of April 19, 1948, a single party, the Christian Democrats, secured a majority of seats under P. R. Professor Hermens, in reply, noted that the Christian Democrats received 53 per cent of the seats with 48 per cent of the vote, and that Italian voters, because of fear of Communism, have given Italy only a temporary truce. *New York Times*, May 3 and 12, 1948.

in over-representation for minorities. Some candidly denied the premise that an election arrangement giving representation to minorities was either sound or desirable; and this resulted in debate over minority representation and its relationship to democracy. It was argued that P.R. everywhere was subversive of the two-party system and gave a "lion's roar to irresponsible fleas," magnifying "out of all legitimate or decent proportion voices belonging to the tiniest fractions of our people."[21] Defenders of the system replied that it was sound democracy to permit minority representation, and that no group received more seats in the council than the number to which it was entitled in terms of popular support.

Many opponents admitted the theoretical merit of P.R., but maintained that its operation in New York City failed to produce a council in which representation was in close accord with voting strength. The *New York Times* asserted editorially that P. R."failed to produce a city council that fairly represented the people, notably so in the LaGuardia régime when Fusion was in control of the city administration but Tammany continued to dominate the council."[22] The *Times* argued that LaGuardia's overwhelming victory in 1937 would have placed a majority of Fusionists in the council had the electoral system reflected popular sentiment.[23]

This is hardly borne out by the facts, since 908,123 votes in the deciding count were cast for organization Democrats and the insurgent Democrats in Queens who joined forces with the regulars soon after the election, resulting in the election of 15, while the 771,497 votes cast for Fusionists running under diverse labels elected 11. P.R. would have been disproportionate had the Democrats not remained in control of the council. At the same election, the Democrats elected from New York City 50 out of 62 state assemblymen (80 per cent of the seats with 49 per cent of the total vote) and 60 out of 69 delegates to the constitutional convention. These figures illustrate what might have happened in the council election if the new charter had contained nc provisions for proportional representation.

Opponents cited examples to show that "proportional representation is not proportional, " such as the following from the first P.R. election in Brooklyn:

[21] Letter of the chairman of the Young Democrats of New York in *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1947.

[22] Oct. 27, 1947.

[23] The *New York Times* and other proponents of repeal used a statement made by Mayor LaGuardia in 1938 that if there had been no P. R. in 1937 he could have won an overwhelming majority in the council. See strong endorsement of P. R. by LaGuardia in 1940 in the *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 29 (Apr., 1940), pp. 274–5.

Party	*First Choice Votes*	*Seats in Proportion to First Choice Votes*	*Results Under P.R.*
Democrats	220,600	3	5
Republicans	62,847	1	1
American Labor	94,411	1	2
City Fusion	81,268	1	1
Others (Independents, Socialists, and Communists)	240,015	3	0

Such statistics are misleading, however, since a large portion of the "other" candidates were known Democrats who failed to receive their

TABLE II

FIRST AND FINAL CHOICE VOTES AND REPRESENTATION IN COUNCIL IN TWO ELECTIONS

Parties	*First Choice Votes*	*Votes on Deciding Count*	*Councilmen Elected*
	1937		
	%	%	%
Democratic	31	47	50
American Labor	12	21	19
City Fusion	11	10.5	11.5
Republican	9	8.5	11.5
Insurgent Democratic*	5	7	8
Communist	4	2.5	—
Others**	28	3.5	—
	1945		
Democratic	45	59	60
Republican	18	15	13
American Labor	11	10	9
Liberal	9	7	9
Communist	7	9	9
Others**	11	—	—

* The Insurgent Democrats in 1937 were members of the Roe faction in Queens, not supported by the regular Democratic organization.

** Unattached independent groups (including the small Socialist group). These groups polled a creditable first choice total but, because they were not a cohesive group, no one of them profited enough either on first or transferred votes to win a seat.

party's official designation. As was to be expected, a large part of their votes transferred to the regular Democratic candidates as they were defeated. The "other" candidates were not a united group, and as the candidates so listed were defeated one by one their votes were given effect in helping to elect other choices of the same voters. The result was strictly in proportion to the preferences expressed by the voters among the candidates who turned out to have a chance of election. In Table II, the transfers for two elections are shown. It will be noted that there is in most instances a close correspondence between final votes and representation.

Advocates of repeal made considerable use of a letter from Professor Hermens which was published in many newspapers and asserting that proportional representation dispenses with the "process of integration" and results in "fragmentation."[24] Complete proportionality could be achieved only, he stated, by a single city-wide constituency instead of five borough constituencies. He noted that some observers predicted, if this were followed, the election of a Christian Front candidate, resulting in a contest between the right and left on the council which would drive out the moderates, causing fragmentation. Professor Hermens, however, made no charge that this had happened in New York and, indeed, made practically no detailed attack on its results there.

The charge that P.R. resulted in fragmentation or coalition government in New York, or that it failed on a city-wide basis to result in proportionality could not be substantiated by the evidence. The relationship between votes on the deciding count and representation in the council is shown in Table I above. It may be noted that in every election there was a close relationship between voting strength and success at the polls. From the beginning, the Democrats under P.R. received an absolute majority, but at the same time did not enjoy a near monopoly, as was the case under the aldermanic system. In the last aldermanic election (1935), the Democrats with 66.5 per cent of the popular vote captured 95.3 per cent of the seats. In 1931, the situation was even worse, with a board composition of 64 Democrats and one Republican. Succinctly, P.R. resulted in mitigating the disproportionate strength of the Democrats, but at the same time preserved majority rule; the opposition in the council became larger and more varied, resulting in much better balanced councils.

For the independent Republicans and Democrats, P.R. proved a real benefit; for it permitted a number of them, by drawing strength from insurgents and independents throughout a borough, to be elected. Some of the most able councilmen, moreover, were non-organization Democrats and Republicans, notably Genevieve Earle and Stanley Isaacs, who undoubtedly would never have won the primary in a single-member district

[24] *New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1947. For other recent letters of Professor Hermens on P. R., see the *Times*, Feb. 1, 1946, July 21, 1947, and May 12, 1948.

because of opposition of the district machine. It was not too well known, but one of the most important reasons why the party organizations repeatedly fought P.R. was that it deprived them of control over nominations. In fighting to retain P.R., the insurgents and independents within the major parties provided vigorous leadership; for they realized that a return to the single-member-district plan meant a much greater chance of machine control over nomination and election.

There is general agreement that the average ability of P.R. councilmen was higher than that of the board of aldermen during its last years. As the Commerce and Industry Association of New York pointed out, the board members were frequently absent from important committee meetings, engaged in little debate, and often rubber-stamped legislation of the leaders.[25] In contrast, P.R. council meetings were well attended and discussion both in committee meetings and in the council vigorous.

During the campaign of 1947, special pleas were made to win the support of veterans for repeal of P.R. Such veteran organizations as the county branches of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American War Veterans, and Catholic War Veterans joined in supporting the $400,000,000 soldier-bonus amendment which was before the voters along with the proposal to repeal P.R. The veteran organizations stressed the Communist argument in their pleas for repeal of P.R.[26] Furthermore, these veteran organizations, as well as the chairman of the Committee for the Repeal of P.R., pointed out that the Citizens Union and the League of Women Voters, two of the most influential non-partisan groups working for the retention of P.R., were opposed to the soldiers' bonus. That the *Herald Tribune* considered the charge gravely can be seen from its editorial, "Is It In the Bag?":

"The Citizens Union, one of the strongest of P.R.'s defenders, has been foolish enough to oppose the veterans' bonus. To the professionals, this is a fatal mistake—not because the two issues are in any way connected (they are not), but because it is believed that much of the heavy registration comes from veterans anxious to vote the bonus amendment. To the clubhouses it is inconceivable that the veterans might distinguish between the Citizens Union stand on the two questions. Plainly, P.R. is done for. It's in the bag. And on the assumption that the voters of New York are a bleating mass of sheep, incapable of grasping the simplest facts of government, swayed by all the old standard political tricks, no doubt it would be."[27]

[25] See the Association's *Report Concerning Election of the New York City Council by Proportional Representation* (mimeo., 1947), pp. 18–19. Attention should be called to the nineteen-page mimeographed *Examination and Refutation* of this report by the Citizens Committee to Repeal P.R.

[26] The American Veterans Committee opposed the bonus and the repeal of P. R. The Jewish War Veterans favored the bonus, but took no position on P. R.

[27] Oct. 21, 1947. The vote in favor of the bonus was 1,209,689; opposed, 388,748. The vote to repeal P. R. was 935,222; to retain it, 586,170.

In Harlem, where most of Manhattan's Negroes live, there was unusual activity to save P.R. The *Amsterdam News*, a Harlem weekly paper, strongly supported retention. The Harlem Citizens Committee in Support of Proportional Representation was organized and hailed P.R. for

"freeing Harlem from the ghetto system. . . . The electorate of Harlem . . . became part of the borough's progressive electorate and sent to the council men like Adam C. Powell, Stanley Isaacs, Eugene Connolly, and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. . . . Neighborhood unknowns, if P. R. is abolished, would be the councilmanic candidates. . . . If P. R. is repealed, there will not be a single Negro in the Council. True, a Negro clubhouse leader may have the privilege of 'naming' the councilmanic candidate, but that leaves the people out in the cold. The Negro clubhouse man would have to name a candidate acceptable to the bosses downtown. And since we have experienced the 'racial considerations' of Tammany, we know that the chances of a Negro being named from any of the senatorial districts are small indeed. . . ."[28]

It should be noted, too, that the Republican Club in Harlem's 11th Assembly District did not go along with the county Republican organization in its anti-P.R. stand. Dr. Chandos Maxey, the Republican Club leader, stated: " . . . Everybody knows that Harlem has never been able to elect any Negro to any office along senatorial lines. These misguided political leaders say their aim is to keep Ben Davis and the Communists out of the city council. We think the effect will be to keep Ben Davis and all other Negroes out of the City Council."[29]

In view of the emphasis placed upon Communism, the proponents of P.R. cited church sources to refute the argument. Rev. Gordon C. Graham, an Episcopalian, pointed out that proportional representation had been used to elect officers of his church and concluded that "it would seem to Episcopalians that the charge of Communism brought against the principles of P.R. is both absurd and untrue."[30] Gabriel L. Kaplan, counsel to the Keep P.R. Committee, stated that P.R. has the approval of prominent leaders in all the major churches, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, and specifically quoted the *Catholic Telegraph Register*, official newspaper of the archdiocese of Cincinnati, as having said:

"There is nothing in the P. R. system that is against the Christian position. The totalitarians' strategy in Europe and the tyrannous fascist machinations, which

[28] *Amsterdam News*, Nov. 1, 1947. Adam C. Powell and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., are Negroes.

[29] *Daily Worker*, Oct. 27, 1947. In only two of the 16 assembly districts in Manhattan (New York county) did the vote to continue P. R. exceed the repeal vote; and one was Harlem's 11th Assembly District. The New York Joint Executive Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People threw its support behind the campaign to retain P. R. as the "best method through which minority groups can be assured of satisfactory leadership and representation in the city council." *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1947.

[30] *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 20, 1947. Rev. Robert W. Searle, executive secretary of the Human Relations Commission of the Protestant Council of New York, announced that the commission was in favor of P. R.

enslaved and are enslaving many puppet states in their system of voting, have no application to our condition here. Our P.R. system is an entirely Anglo-American product, not used in Continental Europe at all. It was developed and has been used and is being used in England, Ireland, and the United States. It gives the voters an opportunity to select not only the party they want to support, but also the order of preference of the candidates representing the party. It is therefore truly democratic in character."[31]

Father John A. Ryan's comment on proportional representation in Cleveland was presented to the voters of New York, to the effect that:

"P. R. is the fairest method of electing officials that has yet been devised, for it enables every minority, indeed every voter, to exercise some influence in the choice of officials. Particularly surprising will it be if the wage-earner or the groups that suffer from racial or religious intolerance shall be misled into voting away advantages that they can enjoy under proportional representation."[32]

The *New York Catholic News* was quick to reply that the Catholic Church had taken no position on proportional representation and that Catholics, clerical and lay, had expressed differing views on it. This journal went on to say:

"It is not a matter of principle, but of policy; it is a question of deciding which method is best . . . from the standpoint of justice and efficiency under existing conditions in a given locality . . . . Would he [Father Ryan] favor proportional representation today when supporters of Communism have succeeded in getting through it in New York City representation in the city council which would be warranted only if the Communist party had over a million members here?"[33]

It seems unnecessary to add at this point that representation on legislative bodies is not based on the membership of parties, but on the vote cast for their candidates.

Vincent R. Impellitteri, president of the New York City Council, branded P.R. as a political device which has created

"a sounding board for utterances which are viciously contrary to basic American thinking . . . . I have watched them [the Communist representatives in the city council] practice deliberate and not-so-subtle defamation of all non-Communist sympathizers. One mortifying example of this, which I can never forget, was the impertinent affront to Cardinal Spellman and the Catholic Church when these Communist councilmen cast the only votes against a resolution congratulating Cardinal Spellman on his elevation. . . . "[34]

These appeals to racial and religious groups during the repeal campaign bring to mind a criticism constantly levelled at the system, namely, that it encouraged and resulted in ethnic voting.[35] In the 1939 election in the

[31] *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1947. The above statement was not entirely true; the system was used in electing members of the upper house of the Danish parliament.

[32] *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1947.

[33] *New York Catholic News*, Nov. 1, 1947.

[34] *New York Times*, Oct. 30, 1947.

[35] Citizens Committee to Repeal P. R., *P. R. Exposed*, pp. 7–8.

Bronx, 28 per cent of Rubenstein's (ALP candidate) votes were transferred to Cohen, a Democrat. When Soriano (Independent) was eliminated in the 1937 Brooklyn election, a considerable portion of his ballots went to Cacchione (Communist), DeLisio (Independent), DiGiovanna (Democrat), Gelo (American Labor), Isnardi (Republican), Massaro (Fusionist), Riccarda (Independent), and Scelsa (Fusionist).[36] Other instances were cited by critics to demonstrate ethnic voting, but the transfer of the votes of Soriano provided the most glaring illustration.

There is little question that P.R. does open a way for a racial and religious group, if it desires, to vote along such lines. This fails, however, to tell the full story. Melting-pot politics and the "balanced" ticket were a part of the aldermanic system, and were usually catered to in advance. The three city-wide offices are almost invariably constituted this way. Present incumbents, for example, include Mayor O'Dwyer, Irish from Brooklyn, Comptroller Joseph, Jewish from the Bronx, and Council President Impellitteri, Italian from Manhattan. P.R. could hardly hope to change this deeply entrenched theory of balance between religions and nationalities. It has, however, because of its transfers, provided an opportunity to study ethnic voting, which is not easily done in other systems.

Definitive studies for all ethnic and religious groups are wanting, and even when available raise a question of accuracy because of the difficulty of isolating ethnic from party and other factors. When votes were transferred from Irish Catholic Democrats in large numbers (60.5 per cent) to Irish Catholic Democrats, was the major reason because they were Irish or Catholic or Democrat? One study concluded that "votes explainable only by nationality and religion ranged from 15 to 25 per cent."[37] Another study was made of the results of transfers among Italians in all five P.R. elections in the four large boroughs.[38] These figures, shown in Table III, indicate the votes transferred from Italian candidates who were defeated to Italians still in the running.

Taken by themselves, these figures indicate that approximately one-third of the transfers went according to nationality. Because, however, the figures take no cognizance of transfers according to party loyalty, they exaggerate the influence of nationality in voting. Furthermore, the voter may know well only persons of his own nationality, persons who may be most competent.

[36] New York State Constitutional Convention Committee, *Problems Relating to Legislative Organization and Powers* (Albany, 1938), Vol. 7, p. 271. Warren Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State* (New York, 1948), pp. 48–49.

[37] Doris Saltzman, *Racial and Religious Voting Under Proportional Representation as Practiced in New York City; A Case Study* (Hunter College, typewritten), pp. 65–66. This study covers the first four P. R. elections.

[38] There is one councilman from the fifth borough, Richmond, who is elected by a method that amounts to majority preferential voting.

TABLE III*

Transfer of Votes Cast for Italian Candidates

	Manhattan	*Bronx*	*Kings*	*Queens*	*Four Boroughs*
Transferred from Italians	71,876	79,127	246,097	48,000	445,100
Transferred to Italians	14,749	30,690	107,838	10,183	163,460
Per cent transferred to Italians	21	39	43	21	36

* Adapted from James A. Kelly, *An Investigation of Two Assertions Made in the Recent Campaign to Repeal P.R.* (Queens College Library, typewritten), 1947.

On the other side, considerable evidence was offered to show that religious and racial voting was of no great importance. The former president of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, Paul J. Kern, told the National Municipal League of numerous instances where political factors were many times more important than racial ones. "When a Jewish candidate, Ornstein, was counted out in Manhattan on the twelfth count," reported Mr. Kern, "Nugent, an Irish American received 3,912 of his votes and Stoute, a Negro, received 3,499, while Isaacs and Straus, two eminent candidates of the Jewish faith, received only 1,431 and 2,161 respectively."[39] Although the Protestant population of the city is estimated at 46 per cent, only 21 per cent of the council seats went to members of that faith during the P.R. elections. In contrast, Catholic councilmen numbered 53 per cent, although Catholics comprise only about 22 per cent of the population; the ratio of Jews on the council and in the city was almost equal. The 6 per cent Negro population may be compared with the 2.5 per cent of council positions occupied by Negroes. It is clear that the extent of racial and religious voting is still somewhat of an unknown quantity, with both sides able to cite statistics in support of their respective views.

Observation of transfers yields an impressive preponderance of evidence that in P.R. elections ethnic and religious factors were secondary in importance to party. Indeed, party remained the most important determinant in vote transfers. In 1945, when Rita Casey, a Democrat, was defeated, 24,146 of her votes on transfers went to non-Irish Democrats, 10,341 to Irish Democrats, and 5,761 to non-Democrats who were not Irish.[40] Miss Saltzman found that in the first four elections, over 80 per cent of the votes conveyed from Democrats went to fellow-party members.[41] Vote transfers

[39] *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 30 (Dec., 1941), p. 736.

[40] *P. M.*, June 19, 1947. The same issue contains several valuable diagrams illustrative of party, racial, and religious transfers. Approximately 85 per cent of Mrs. Casey's votes were transferred to fellow-Democrats.

[41] *Op. cit.*, pp. 33 and 39.

from candidates endorsed by the Democratic organization, moreover, showed less crossing of political boundaries than from those Democrats who ran without organization endorsement. Republican transfers were not reduced to figures, but spot checks showed less discipline. Thousands of figures and data remain to be analyzed in terms of correlations between party affiliations, nationality, and religious faith. When this is done, knowledge of voting habits will be substantially enriched. The first studies indicate that many politicians exaggerate the extent of ethnic voting.

Both before and after the adoption of proportional representation, party regulars insisted that the system was too difficult to comprehend and argued that it resulted not only in alphabetical voting, but also in a great wastage of ballots. One Democratic leader in New York stated: "We know that many voters haven't the slightest information regarding candidates on a P.R. ballot. We know that many voters are discouraged from even casting a ballot by the confusion inherent in a P.R. ballot. Apathy breeds well in such circumstances."[42] Opponents also argued that there would be an excessive number of candidates—a claim borne out in the first election, when there were 232 in the city as a whole and 99 in Brooklyn alone. Proponents were correct in their contention that as people became aware that it was not easy to win in the new system, the number of candidates would decline. The number successively dropped until there were a total of 65 nominees in 1943, though 96 in 1945. In the last three P.R. elections, the ratio of candidates to councilmen elected averaged about four to one, as compared to three to one for each state senatorial seat in 1944.[43]

As expected, there were some instances of alphabetical voting. In an early election in Brooklyn, when Brodsky (a Jewish Independent) was defeated, a number of his transfers went to Buchler (a Jewish Independent), Butler (a colored City Fusionist), Cacchione (Italian Communist), and Cashmore (a Protestant Democrat), who followed him on the ballot.[44] The problem of the ignorant citizen who votes according to first or prominent location on the ballot is evident in other forms of nomination and election and is not peculiar to P.R. It was partly solved in New York City, as it is in some primary elections elsewhere, by rotation of names on the ballot.

On the matter of wastage of ballots, friends of P.R. admitted that a larger number of invalid ballots were cast than was anticipated; and the percentage remained higher in New York City than in other cities using the system. The percentage of invalid ballots is shown in Table IV. These figures provide an interesting insight into the relative degree of political literacy in the different boroughs. Even in the face of large numbers of

[42] Letter from the chairman of the New York State Young Democrats to the *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1947.

[43] Only 2,000 signatures are required for nomination.

[44] New York State Constitutional Convention Committee, Vol. 7, p. 272.

spoiled ballots, the Commerce and Industry Association pointed out that "the total number of voters compares very favorably with the total number who voted for aldermen."[45]

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE OF INVALID BALLOTS*

	1937	*1939*	*1941*	*1943*	*1945*
Manhattan	10.6	11.0	13.7	13.4	13.2
Brooklyn	9.7	12.5	14.4	13.1	12.2
Bronx	8.8	9.2	11.5	11.4	10.3
Queens	8.7	7.3	10.1	10.5	8.8
Richmond	5.3	1.7	1.5	2.6	5.4
City Average	9.5	11.2	12.6	12.6	11.3

* Figures taken from the report of the Commerce and Industry Association (cited above), p. 8. The Citizens Committee for Repeal of P.R. held that the percentage of *blank* and void ballots against total vote cast was: for 1937—12.3 per cent, 1939—12.4 per cent, 1941—16.0 per cent, 1943—14.4 per cent, 1945—14.1 per cent.

The votes cast for aldermen in 1933 were 12 per cent fewer than for mayor, while in the first P.R. election nine per cent of those voting for mayor failed to cast a valid ballot for councilman. However, in 1941, the vote for councilman was 14.7 per cent less than the vote cast for mayor; in 1945 it was 11.7 per cent less.

In answering the charge of wasted ballots, Dr. George H. Hallett, Jr., has used a comparison of "effective" votes cast under the two types of elections. By an "effective" vote is meant a ballot cast for a winner, which, under P.R. would be a combination of first and transferred choices used to elect someone. Wasted ballots are those cast for a losing candidate. The results of the last five aldermanic and the five P.R. elections in these terms are shown in Table V. Under this analysis, the effective vote was substantially larger under P.R. than under the plurality, single-member-district system. The percentages with reference to P.R. effective votes actually underestimate the record, because the requirement of the charter that the ballots previously credited to the last candidate defeated in each borough be distributed as between the elected candidates was seldom carried out in the borough count.

In summary on popular interest and participation, the charge that the system would or did result in apathy was not borne out. In some elections, the number of marked ballots for councilman exceeded those cast for borough president or comptroller. In a few instances in certain boroughs, more people actually marked their P.R. ballots than voted for mayor.[46] Table VI shows electoral participation in municipal elections before and

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[46] *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27 (Jan., 1938), p. 54; Vol. 30 (Dec., 1941), p. 734; Vol. 35 (Jan., 1946), p. 47.

after the adoption of proportional representation. On the whole, the record shows that the electorate used P.R., and that the system did not discourage the voters from participating in councilmanic elections.

The campaign that resulted in the repeal of P.R. in New York, after a trial of ten years, was one of the most dramatic ever waged over an issue that did not involve the election of candidates for public office. A signif-

TABLE V*

PERCENTAGE OF EFFECTIVE VOTES UNDER ALDERMANIC AND P.R. ELECTIONS

Election	*% Effective*	*% Cast for Losers*	*Total Valid Votes*
Aldermen, 1927	63	37	1,092,536
Aldermen, 1929	63	37	1,353,720
Aldermen, 1931	65	35	1,309,294
Aldermen, 1933	55	45	1,894,810
Aldermen, 1935	67	33	1,712,071
P.R. Council, 1937	80	20	2,013,101
P.R. Council, 1939	78	22	1,607,105
P.R. Council, 1941	83	17	1,928,968
P.R. Council, 1943	74	26	1,304,689
P.R. Council, 1945	81	19	1,693,043

* Figures adapted from the report of the Commerce and Industry Association, p. 13, and from George H. Hallett, Jr., "New York's First Use of P.R.—A Study in Contrast," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27 (Jan., 1938), p. 54.

icant feature of it was the scores of debates and forums held throughout the city under the auspices of local civic, veteran, and business organizations. The radio carried many debates over important stations;[47] in addition, there were neighborhood rallies, distribution of literature, and ringing of doorbells. "The battle over proportional representation gained momentum today as thousands of the city's voters found their mailboxes stuffed with vigorous arguments for and against the present method of electing city councilmen. The mailed broadsides appeared as a follow-up to the thousands of pro and con posters which have been pasted on walls throughout the city in the last few days."[48] It was reported that 25,000 copies of the pamphlet, *P.R. Exposed*, were distributed at a Tammany meeting.[49] The campaign literature made much of such slogans as "P.R.

[47] For example, "P.R.—Is it Good Or Bad?," between O. Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman*, and F. A. Hermens over CBS on Oct. 23, 1947. Yonkers, an important industrial city adjoining New York, used P.R. for council elections after 1939; but at the election of November 2, 1948, the voters repealed the city charter's provision on the subject.

[48] *New York Sun*, Oct. 22, 1947.

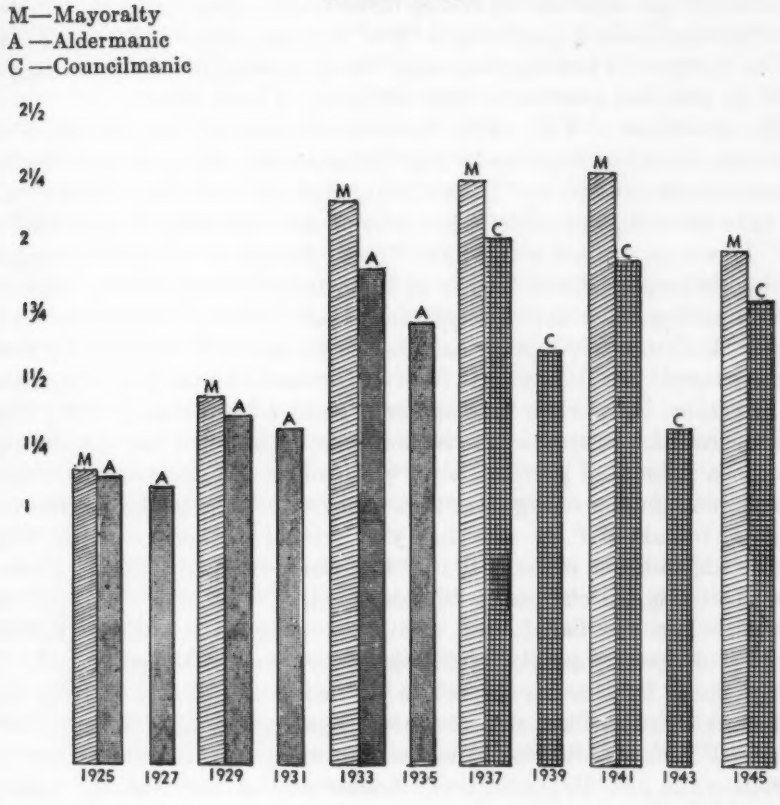
[49] *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1947. In addition to references already cited, the following should be noted: George H. Hallett, Jr., *Real Majority Rule* (1936), published by the Citizens Union; *A Primer on Proportional Representation and Charter*

Means People's Rule;" "Hold that Tiger"; and "P.R. Means Preposterous Representation" or "Poor Representation."

It is, of course, difficult to estimate the amount of money spent on this repeal campaign. There is no doubt that the largest sums were spent by

TABLE VI

VALID VOTES CAST IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS
(IN MILLIONS)



the pro repeal forces, particularly by the Democratic and Republican organizations. The Citizens Committee to Repeal P.R., with a budget of $33,000, was entirely financed by the Democratic county organizations. The Keep Proportional Representation Committee was hard pressed for funds, and with a total budget of $4,013—contributions coming largely from individuals—was able to distribute only 100,000 copies of its most

Revision (1936), Women's City Club of New York; *Proportional Representation* (1937), Municipal Civil Service Commission; *Proportional Representation for New York City* (1937), Merchants' Association of New York; Louis Cohen, *P.R. Unmasked* (1940); George H. Hallett, Jr., *Proportional Representation* (1940), published by the National Municipal League; and *Proportional Representation* (1947), Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

important four-page leaflet, "*Danger.*" The C.I.O. unions and the Liberal, American Labor, and Communist parties had more funds at their disposal. In one way, this may have been unfortunate, since it left the impression that the campaign to retain P.R. was a left-wing movement.[50] Despite earlier successes, the proponents of P.R. faced a situation in 1947 that was well-nigh impossible to overcome. The advocates of repeal presented the issue to the voters at a time when anti-Soviet and anti-Communist feelings ran high. On the voting machine the repeal proposal followed three popular housing questions. A "yes" vote was required to repeal P.R. and to approve the housing proposals. The somewhat involved wording of the P.R. proposal must have been confusing to both sides.

The advocates of P.R. could have benefited from the services of at least one colorful political leader like LaGuardia or O'Dwyer as a cohesive agent for their forces. The "Tiger-taming exploits" of Samuel Seabury did not have the same appeal for the voters of 1947 that they had in 1933 or 1937. However, while it is true that Robert Moses, an advocate of repeal, was highly respected, the friends of P.R. probably had more prominent citizens among their active supporters than did the "repealers." The Keep P.R. Committee represented the middle point of view held by most civic organizations. It may have been embarrassed by the political parties left of center, who, while putting forth great effort to keep P.R., were nevertheless also interested in rivalling one another for the voters' support. Two influential pro-P.R. civic groups opposed the soldiers' bonus. This enabled the repeal organizations to say to veteran groups: "Here are the great friends of P.R.—are they your friends?" A post-mortem diagnosis would indicate perhaps that P.R. defenders should have exploited more effectively the charges of "fraud-saturated" petitions which put the proposition on the ballot, and should have demanded more effective handling of the charges that some signatures were gathered illegally at polling places by election inspectors. As many as 139,316 petition signatures were finally filed, well above the legal minimum of 50,000. However, the P.R. forces did stress the fact that many signatures were secured in Democratic and Republican clubhouses and at the primary polling places, thus closely associating the "political machines" with the repeal movement.[51]

[50] *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1947. For the conduct of the first election, the city spent $701,623. This huge sum was due, undoubtedly, to unfamiliarity of the election authorities with the new system and the dilatory tactics employed by temporary workers who were paid by the day. In subsequent elections, the cost to the city was about $250,000 each, making a total of $1,663,292 for the five elections, over and above the regular expenses of elections.

[51] John J. Lamula, campaign manager of the Keep P. R. Committee, charged that 76 per cent of the repeal petitions were circulated by Democratic party workers. *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1947. See *Herald Tribune*, Oct. 21, 1947, and *P.M.*, Oct. 2, 1947, for evidence showing similarity in handwriting of whole batches of signatures.

Before P.R. was in use two years, George McCaffrey wrote in this *Review*: "The New York City experiment with proportional representation has thus justified the claims of its advocates that the system is not too difficult for the electorate of even such a polyglot city as New York to operate successfully; that it would give fair numerical representation to each of the five boroughs; and that it would give representation in proportion to strength to any voting group . . . ."[52] After a review of all five elections and councils, the authors find themselves in agreement with McCaffrey's conclusion. The new plan replacing P.R. in 1949 will be an improvement over the old aldermanic system in that the council will be smaller—25 as against 65. Electoral units, moreover, will be the fairly recently apportioned state senatorial districts. There is little reason to believe, however, that the new system will avert an overwhelming dominance by the Democratic party. This could be averted only by barters and deals between parties such as have very often characterized the single-member-district system in New York elections.

Civic and minor party leaders are already planning to bring the question of revival of proportional representation before the voters. There is difference of opinion, however, on the most propitious time to launch such a movement. Many if not most pro-P.R. leaders believe that no action should be taken until at least one council has been elected under the new plan. The American Labor party started circulating petitions to put the question on the ballot in 1948, but thought better of it. Surely, the climate of public opinion on the question of Communism is an important timing factor.

If and when proportional representation is again adopted, various improvements might be made. There have been, for example, certain psychological objections to the fixed quota of 75,000 valid votes per councilman.[53] These could be overcome by apportioning councilmen in each borough on the basis of registration rather than according to valid votes. Voters then would know in advance the number to be elected from their borough; and the electoral quota would be established on the basis of valid votes, similar to the practice in other P.R. cities. It is possible, too, that this change in the quota system would result in a slightly more accurate reflection of popular sentiment.

With the extension of the term of council members from two to four years in 1945, a more representative method of filling vacancies seems advisable. Instead of filling them at the next general election by the usual plurality method, a preferential recount of the ballots of the voters who were left without representation by the vacancy might be substituted. The cities of Massachusetts using P.R. follow this practice.

Nominating procedure could be improved by changing the state pro-

[52] Vol. 33 (Oct., 1939), p. 852.

[53] In all five elections, only one candidate, James A. Burke, Democrat of Queens, received the full quota of 75,000 *first* choice votes (in 1939).

vision which now requires that each page of a petition include an affidavit, and that the circulator swear that he knows all of the signees on the page. Whenever a mistake is made, the whole page now has to be notarized again, or may be thrown out. This provision has resulted in an unnecessary amount of litigation and loss of otherwise good signatures. It would be better practice to dispense with the affidavits and merely require all signatures to be affixed in the presence of the circulator. Statements of both signees and circulators would, of course, remain subject to the law of perjury.

Finally, a better job of education in the principles of P.R. and in the mechanics of voting would result not only in fewer invalid ballots, but also in meeting many fallacious arguments against the system. Such a campaign should be carried on by the schools, the press, the parties, and civic organizations. The press was much more helpful in the early days of P.R. than later in informing the voter about the electoral process. Such information might show that "bullet voting", or merely marking one choice, does not, contrary to many allegations, result in giving minor parties more representation. A ballot of this type does not help the voter's favorite candidate any more than a ballot marked with many choices; and if the favorite candidate is defeated, the ballot is wasted. The virtues of automatic reapportionment and its advantages to rapidly growing boroughs such as the Bronx and Queens deserve more stress. (See Table VII.)[54] Believers in P.R. should use its workings in New York to show that it provided a valuable check on municipal administration and forced higher-caliber candidates on both the majority and minority political organizations.

TABLE VII

BOROUGH REPRESENTATION IN NEW YORK CITY*

Borough	*Valid Votes for Council, 1937*	*Elected by P. R.*	*Members in Preceding Board of Aldermen*
Bronx	402,413 (20%)	5 (19%)	8 (12%)
Brooklyn	699,191 (34%)	9 (35%)	24 (37%)
Manhattan	497,369 (25%)	6 (23%)	24 (37%)
Queens	354,839 (18%)	5 (19%)	6 (9%)
Richmond	59,289 (3%)	1 (4%)	3 (5%)
Total	2,013,101	26	65

* From Report of the New York State Constitutional Convention Committee, (1938), Vol. 7, p. 250.

[54] In 1946, only three years after the last reapportionment in New York State, the largest senatorial district (4th Queens) had twice as many voters as the smallest (9th Kings) except for the special case of Richmond. Prior to 1943, the last reapportionment had occurred in 1917.

POST-WAR POLITICS IN JAPAN, II*

IV. UNDERGROUND POLITICS IN POST-WAR JAPAN[1]

HARRY EMERSON WILDES
Formerly of Government Section, SCAP

Party Organization Undemocratic. Outwardly, Japan is governed by political parties working for democracy through parliamentary action. The presence of four major parties, plus some 1,250 other political groups officially recognized by the nine-member Election Management Commission, offers what appears to be corroborative evidence that Japan follows the line of Western political development.

In practice, this is sheer illusion. The 1,250 parties seem bewilderingly numerous, yet no one but the American is in the least confused. All Japanese realize that the so-called parties are, in reality, nothing more than local subdivisions of major groups, together with a swarm of wholly unimportant minor factions made up of irresponsibles with no actual following. An Oriental will form a group, dignified by a high title, at the drop of a hat. Because the law requires it, and because it satisfies his vanity, the Japanese will register his association (although actually composed of himself, his brother-in-law, and his next door neighbor) as a political party; as such, it will appear on the record as one of the 1,250 organizations. As a matter of fact, it may, and probably will, split into fragments and even disappear before the registrant has returned home; but since no procedure is provided for the erasure of a name from the list, the total snowballs into astronomical figures.[2]

A greater evil than mere numbers lies in the basically undemocratic character of all political parties. Japan sincerely desires democracy, but because she does not know, and is not told, how to develop it, her efforts

* Completing a symposium arranged by Harold S. Quigley and begun in the preceding issue.

[1] Nothing contained in this article is to be construed as in any sense an official statement, either of fact or of opinion, either by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) or by any agency or individual in the SCAP organization. All opinions expressed are those of the author, a former member of SCAP's Government Section, and author of *Social Currents in Japan*, *Japan in Crisis*, and *Aliens in the East*. All data not otherwise credited have been collected by the author through personal, and in most instances private, interviews with the individuals concerned.

[2] Japan has 1,250 officially recognized "parties," but if the same procedure existed in the United States of registering each local club as a separate unit, the 3,000 American counties, to say nothing of the city, town, and village organizations, would roll up a staggering total. One division club for one party only in the author's home town would yield more "parties" than are registered in all Japan. Judged by this yardstick, Japan is actually under-supplied rather than over-supplied with parties.

are often fruitless. No Japanese party allows the individual voter even the faintest voice in the determination of party policies, the choice of party officers, or the selection of candidates. No party permits self-determination for its branches; all their actions are subject to review by Tokyo headquarters. If local units do not initiate actions desired by Tokyo, the central party leaders hold the right to dictate policy, to impose candidates, and to force contributions—all this under penalty of expulsion if the interference is resented or resisted. No party member in the Diet and no party executive may deviate from the party line; those refusing to follow orders issued by a boss, whom the Diet member or the executive may or may not have helped select, lose their party privileges.[3]

Although at frequent intervals parties as varied as the Democrats, the Coöperatives, the Liberals, and the Socialists pledge their firm determination immediately to install democratic management, little has been done and nothing more seems imminent. A party member is not a voter who has cast, or who may cast, a ballot for the party; he is, instead, formally proposed and seconded by men who stand responsible for him; after close inspection of his career and of that vague intangible which the Japanese call character, he is solemnly admitted to an exclusive club. Usually he is, or has been, a Diet member, a local leader, or a heavy contributor to campaign funds, but none of these qualifications is essential. So small is the total number of party members that there have been instances in which the Liberals, for example, nominated more candidates in a Diet constituency than there were accepted party members in that district.[4]

Within this inner circle, a sort of board of governors, alternatively named the central executive committee or the standing committee, advises the party boss. These directors, customarily ratified by a hand-picked national convention at the dictation of the party boss, profess responsibility neither to the voters nor to the party members.[5]

Each party has a leader, who is usually an elder statesman, preferably, but not necessarily, with considerable parliamentary experience. Prime

[3] In 1946, the People's Coöperative party expelled two charter members who protested against the absorption of a minor party which opposed coöperative principles. In December, 1947, the Democratic party expelled a member who absented himself from a Diet session rather than vote for nationalized control of coal mines, and 23 other members "seceded" rather than face expulsion for opposing this measure.

[4] In Osaka, in the 1946 Diet election, the Liberals had exactly five members in the First election district, from which nine Diet members were to be chosen. This situation has since been remedied, to a large extent, but it is still true that actual party membership is but a tiny fraction of the vote cast for any party.

[5] In very few instances is there a real contest over these elections. As Prime Minister Katayama expressed it: "We usually agree in advance and when we find out who has the strength to win we advise the opposition to wait until next time."

Minister Katayama Tetsu, the Social Democratic president, is an experienced labor lawyer who has been a Diet member for twenty years. Yoshida Shigeru, Democratic-Liberal chief, and Ashida Hitoshi, Democratic leader, are former diplomats. Since Japanese politicians have always paid far greater attention to foreign affairs than to internal problems, diplomats have been preferred candidates for party presidencies. Virtually every major party, including the Democratic-Liberals, right-wing Socialists, Democrats, and Coöperatives, has invited former Ambassador Matsudaira Tsuneo, whose daughter married the Emperor's brother, Chichibu, to head its organization, though Matsudaira has never taken an open, active rôle in politics. Professors are also welcome material; both Communists and left-wing Socialists have wooed Professor Oyama Ikuo, until recently a refugee research fellow at Northwestern University.[6]

Importance of Financial Connections. The real test of eligibility for leadership, however, is not experience, nor even skill at political machination, but, as has sometimes been true of certain American recipients of preferment, the ability to raise large sums of money. Rightly or wrongly, Yoshida is supposed to have close connections, through Ishibashi Tanzan of the Bridgestone Tyre Company, with big business interests. *Jimmin*, a left-wing newspaper, stated on January 29, 1948, that Yoshida had received further help from Terao Yutaka, former Diet member, Matsushima Kisaku, a banker and stock broker, Isumi Kenji, contractor, and Tsuchiya Kameichi, a political manipulator who had furthered the ambitions of General Ugaki Kazushige.

Yoshida is not alone in having such connections. Baron Shidehara Kijuro, former Democratic president and present seceder from the party, married an Iwasaki heiress and has long been thought able to draw upon the treasure of the far-flung Mitubishi interests. Ashida is well known to be supported by the contractor syndicate headed by Sugahara Michinari, who wants railway contracts, and by Chiizaki Usaburo, Hokkaido contractor, who seeks harbor-building concessions. Most of the other leading Japanese politicians, past or present, are reportedly backed by one or more influential friends.[7]

The rule that statesmen must be politically financed does not exclude

[6] An excellent illustration of this concern with foreign affairs appeared early in 1948, when the Liberals and Democrats planned a merger into a new conservative party. Chief Prosecutor James B. Keenan, of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, had praised retired General Ugaki Kazushige, former governor-general of Korea, as "a pacifist." Because of this supposed favor with SCAP, the conservative backers suggested Ugaki, a lifelong military man, a plotter of armed insurrection, and a purgee, as president of their proposed new party.

[7] These statements may seem libellous, but each of them has been verified to the author by the contractors concerned. Both Sugahara and Chiizaki were frank in their admissions.

Socialist and labor groups. Prime Minister Katayama revealed that he has drawn funds from labor unions, including an assessment, in 1946, of a cupful of rice from each union member in his constituency; former Agriculture Minister Hirano Rikizo, another Socialist, customarily received gifts of produce from the farm organizations under his control.

Behind Yoshida, Ashida, Shidehara, and the lesser figures, the facade only, stand the real directors of party forces. These are, of course, more difficult to identify. Much wild gossip circulates about these so-called *kuromaku* (wire-pullers), whom everyone knows to exist, but whose actual participation is difficult to prove.

High among them certainly rank Hatoyama Ichiro, founder of the Liberal party, a skilful manipulator both prior to and subsequent to his purge, and Inukai Ken, another pre-war politician, also a purgee, who has been variously linked both with reactionary fascist forces and with a wartime Soviet spy ring. Hatoyama, with his devoted band of practical politicians, and Inukai, with his personal following of professional spokesmen for youth and reform, carefully obey the actual letter of SCAP directives banning them from political activity; seldom associating with nominal chiefs, they confer among themselves, dictate their recommendations to some ally not himself a party official, and have their advice passed on to men in office. While entirely evading the spirit of the law, this subterfuge is entirely legal. SCAP officials have racked their brains to find some defensible method by which such evasions may be ended.[8]

Party Funds From War Surplus, The existence of untold amounts of surplus Japanese army war goods, hidden since surrender, aggravates the problem. This is a post-war development and springs from a SCAP order of August 14, 1945, requiring immediate demobilization. Prime Minister Suzuki Kantaro, then in power, pretended that the order applied only to munitions, thus allowing wholesale pillaging of other army supplies. SCAP, by special directive of August 20, tried to halt this looting, but the Higashi-Kuni cabinet, which succeeded Suzuki, delayed action for eight days. Meanwhile, of course, vast quantities of food, clothing, and material were hauled away. Much of this fell into the hands of big business men, neighborhood bosses, speculators, and bosses backed by political parties which claimed a rake-off of the spoils. The full story is a sordid one of black-marketing, corruption, and fraud, but may be boiled down, as far as this paper is concerned, into comparatively brief statements, sworn to by the individuals concerned.

[8] Hatoyama, Inukai, and other purgees admit having held such conferences. Hatoyama has also held frequent important conferences on party policy matters with key figures such as Yoshida and Ono Banboku, former Liberal secretary. This practice has not been legal; it led in December, 1946, to a scathing rebuke by Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, Chief of Government Section, but the conferences nevertheless continued.

1. Hara Susumu, Liberal party executive, told a party caucus in January, 1948, that he had himself received 2,000,000 yen and that the party had been promised a further 10,000,000 yen from Ogawa Heinosuke, president of the International Industrial Economy Company (*Kokusai Sangyo Keizai*) as part of the proceeds of the sale of army shoes and uniforms illegally disposed of by crooked politicians. These revelations, first reported by the newspaper *Asahi* on October 26, 1947, led to Hara's resignation from the Diet and to his prosecution for fraud.

2. Both Liberals and the Doshi Club (Shidehara followers) insist that President Hinohara Setsuzo of the Showa Electric Industry Company (*Showa Denko*) gave 24,000,000 yen to the Democratic party as commission for an Industrial Bank of Japan loan of 1,200,000,000 yen to the Electric Company. The Bank was then headed by Kurusu Takeo, later finance minister, who afterwards joined the Democratic party. This story was made public by the *Dai Ichi Shimbun* on January 23, 1948.

3. In a long confession, serialized in the *Yukan Miyako*, from October 29 to 31, 1947, Mizuno Shigehiko, president of the Mizuno Productive Industries, told a story of fraud, embezzlement, political corruption, and black-marketing seldom equalled in modern annals. The story, which deals in the main with one set of racketeers endeavoring to cheat another group of rascals through false promises of plundering the public, revealed offers of 30,000,000 yen to the Liberals in exchange for political assistance. These promises were not fully kept, but at least 7,500,000 yen appears to have been paid to Liberal leaders. Two special investigation committees have been set up by the Diet to inquire into the truth of these charges.

4. Allegations that thousands of tons of sugar were diverted illegally in Shizuoka prefecture, to be sold for private profit through political connivance, involved at least two cabinet ministers, in addition to a score of Diet members, and the Liberal, Democratic, and Socialist party leaders. This case, too, is currently under investigation.

Neither these well-documented reports, nor that which alleged the receipt by Governor Yasui of Tokyo of 3,000,000 yen from the sale of Education Bureau calico (*Yukan Miyako*, November 11, 1947), marked an innovation in Japanese politics. Always the political world has been full of corruption and fraud; SCAP, however, had hoped that the new democracy had wiped out remnants of past evil practices.

Black-marketeers provide a deep reservoir of campaign funds. Although no official campaign contribution list includes their gifts, it is from them that all major parties have been financed. There is no question but that party reports on contributions are wholly dishonest. Since Japan's corrupt practices acts limit campaign expenditures to 50,000 yen for Diet candidates (approximately $250 at the current black-market exchange rate), no Diet candidate confesses to having spent more; yet it is an open secret that a successful campaign requires the spending of at least twenty times

that amount.[9] Internal evidence confirms the report that the official lists are not correct; even a cursory check shows that while certain individuals freely admit having given sums to specified candidates, the candidates themselves fail to acknowledge receipt.[10]

The records are wholly confused. Nakasone Ikutaro, for instance, a broker dealing in surplus Japanese army goods, confessed on oath that he had given some 2,500,000 yen to Tsuji Karoku, "a wire-puller," for Liberal party use, and Tsuji declared that he had used the money for that purpose; yet the Liberals report not one sen of the money. Tsuji claims to have financed the campaigns of 19 successful Diet candidates, whom he named, none of whom acknowledged receipt of anything. Sugahara, who aspires to the tripartite dictatorship of Japanese politics, informed SCAP that he had given 3,000,000 yen to the Liberals, a similar amount to the Democrats, and an additional million to the Socialists (Chiizaki said that the total was more nearly 10,000,000); yet not one penny was reported by anyone. Nishio Suehiro, chief cabinet secretary (later deputy premier), a Socialist, is said by Sugahara to have received a million yen through Ashida, another million from the Takenawa Engineering Company, which appears upon the company's books, and still other sums from various sources—all of which Nishio denies. Hatoyama gave his party a million yen, all of it apparently his own since he failed to list the origin of the money (said to be Ishibashi); but the party reported none of it.[11]

In direct contrast to all American precedents, each party ended its campaign with a financial surplus!

[9] This is the 1948 figure, a larger amount because of the continuing inflation than in 1947 when the common Japanese explanation ran "seven wins, five loses," referring to the belief that a candidate who spent only 500,000 yen would not succeed whereas an outlay of 700,000 yen would insure success. In January, 1948, Hara Susumu, a Liberal Diet member, publicly declared what everybody knew when he said: "No Diet member has been elected without breaking the law."

[10] The author made a careful study of the financial reports made by each political party and by the successful Diet candidates; the above comments are based upon his findings. The report was never published.

[11] Nakasone made his confession to the Tokyo public procurator in Nov., 1947. Tsuji's statement of the expenses he paid for the 19 Diet members refers to the 1946 campaign, but he says that the same practice was followed in 1947. Sugahara and Chiizaki made statements to the writer in October and November, 1947. Hara was publicly accused by the Tokyo public procurator and by Prime Minister Katayama in Jan., 1948, at which time Katayama requested permission from the Diet to try him for fraud. Yasui denied to the writer that he had received any of the money, but Tsuji, who helped elect Yasui, said that the charge was true. It should, however, be remembered that Governor Yasui, following election, refused to follow Tsuji's guidance. Kato and Suzuki also denied complicity, and even entered suit against Hara for libel. Statements referring to Hatoyama are endorsed by Hatoyama himself.

The Powerful Oyabun. It would be naive to inquire how contractors and big business interests were enabled to donate such amounts.[12] With all the rebuilding, rehabilitation, reconstruction and repair work to be done, especially under lucrative cost-plus contracts with the Occupation, business men could, for a while at least, name their own profits. Tsuji declared that Sugahara offered him an enormous sum to join forces with him, an offer which Tsuji refused, he said, because it represented only one-fifth of Sugahara's expected profits.

Construction companies (*gumi*) constitute a powerful pressure group. Under the Japanese system, which is not unlike the old Italian *padrone* system, *gumi* chiefs, called *oyabun*, control elaborate outfits of tools, materials, minor artisans, day laborers, and ready capital, capable of being directed toward any one of a number of different types of work. The *oyabun* provide food, clothing, medicines, and shelter for their men, who, in turn, owe labor, loyalty, and unquestioning obedience to their bosses.

The *oyabun* system has wide ramifications. Originating, according to the precedent-minded Japanese, in early Tokugawa times when, because of social instability, the weak and helpless entrusted themselves for protection to strong knights, the pattern developed, as in Europe, into full-fledged feudalism.[13] Rural areas still reflect the feudal landlord-tenant relationship. SCAP officials were taken aback when, in the 1946 and 1947 Diet elections, and in the December, 1946, campaigns for membership in land reform commissions, candidates showed themselves reluctant to appear. In at least a third of the rural mayoralty elections, only one man presented himself for election; this was the local *oyabun*, whose right to represent his people was unchallenged, and peasants thought it not only

[12] Sugahara, the generous contractor who financed three different, and presumably rival, parties, was matched by his associate Chiizaki Usaburo, who, while running as nominal independent in the Hokkaido (immediately after election he joined the Democrats), also gave heavily to the Liberals and offered large sums to the Socialists which, they say, they rejected. Chiizaki, meanwhile, allowed his newspaper, *Hokkaido Shimbun*, to campaign earnestly for the Communists while he himself donated the entire campaign expenses of his Communist rival, who was elected at the same time as himself. These contributions were acknowledged in the Communist's official campaign report, but were not reported by Chiizaki until his attention was called to the omission. He then explained that he gave the money because he admired the candidate's mother!

[13] As in Europe, a strong sense of status and an exaggerated sense of honor permeate the system. Where, as in rural regions, it matured without undue interference, a hereditary relationship arose whereby the same family of *oyabun* (pseudo-parent) governed the same *kobun* (child, or follower), families for several centuries. In some instances a curious tradition existed whereby the *oyabun* must not marry, but instead, as in so many other Japanese circles, must adopt a promising *kobun* as his son and successor.

impolitic but also impolite to oppose him. Similarly, tenant farmers hesitated even to take the rice paddies to which the revolutionary land reform laws entitled them. Not only did the supposedly oppressed tenants sympathize with landlords losing their lands, but, in many cases, they conspired both with the *oyabun* and with local land commissions to defeat the purpose of the laws designed to benefit the poor.

Similar phenomena appeared in the coal fields both of Kyushu and the Hokkaido where the *oyabun* system took the form of arrangements whereby miners were hired by, and owed service to, the individual foremen rather than to the mine operators. Resultant evils were at first ascribed, not to the *oyabun*, but to the belief that a nefarious gangster system handicapped the production of coal.[14]

More recently the *oyabun* system has flowered in the cities. This is wholly understandable. Internal confusion, following the utter destruction of vast urban areas, the weakness of the central government, due to war stress and to deliberate intervention of SCAP authorities, the break-up of the once powerful national police system, and the enforced collapse of virtually all other traditional controls, produced an economic-social-political vacuum. This was intensified by the effects of a SCAP-directed purge, which cleansed these fields of their top, experienced personnel.

Into this vacuum the gangster rushed. New relationships, based upon fear and bolstered by carefully fostered psychological loyalties, strengthened by blood-drinking ceremonies which lent a mystic and spiritual color, set up more widespread, if not new, master-man relationships. The presence of large numbers of young unemployed men, repatriated from the Continent, demobilized from the army, and freed from their former connections, provided a reservoir of devoted followers.

Oyabun organizations in the cities, in addition to the *gumi*, consist chiefly of the following:

1. Gamblers.[15] Tokyo Metropolitan Police officials estimate that some

[14] On Oct. 16, 1947, *Miyako Shimbun* reported the Coal Production Coöperation Society as saying that 10 per cent of the nation's 407,000 coal miners were "lawless," that murder, violence, blackmail, burglary, and black-marketing flourished in the coal areas, and that neither management nor labor unions dared protest for fear of vengeance being visited upon them. *Tokyo Mimpo*, on Dec. 10, 1947, estimated that 5,300 underground miners and 19,700 other coal workers in Hokkaido, held in slavery under what the paper called the "octopus system," would be freed when their "feudalistic contract labor system" ended in Apr., 1948.

[15] The word "gambler" has wider overtones in Japanese than in English. For one reason or another, not always clear to Occidentals, the Japanese gambler is understood to be a peculiar combination of gangster, political leader, and petty criminal. The Tokyo Metropolitan Police insists that during the first year of the Occupation gambler gangs committed "18 murders, 18 injuries, 3 robberies, 85 cases of blackmail, 550 larcenies, plus other offenses not yet discovered." (Cf. Gordon Walker, in *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 13, 1947; *Mainichi*, Jan. 21, 1948.)

60 gambling *oyabun* with upwards of 5,000 followers are active in Tokyo. Approximately 400 different forms of gambling, mostly with "flower cards" and *mah jong*, with some 20 types of dice games, flourish in the metropolitan area. "The intellectuals," according to the police, "play poker." The police believe that in all Japan there are 489 gambler groups, with 16,117 members. Of these groups, 23 are in Kobe, 21 in Osaka and 16 in Kyoto.[16]

2. Hoodlums. In Tokyo alone, 267 gangs of *gurentai*, or hoodlums, using violence and intimidation, dominate such activities as small cafés, cabarets, dance-halls, theaters, brothels, the ricksha industry, and the as yet small but growing fleet of pedicabs. The 7,375 Tokyo *gurentai* are said to reap a monthly tribute of approximately 100,000,000 yen. There are 82 similar groups in Kobe and 31 in Kyoto; more tightly organized Osaka has but 15.[17]

3. Street stalls. These *tekiya*, lightly constructed canvas and bamboo booths from which small articles of cheap quality and infinite variety are sold, are set up usually on the outside third of sidewalks in congested centers. Thus exploiting public property, they are wholly dependent upon police permission and mob "protection." The franchise to use these sidewalk rights has been controlled by 200 Tokyo *oyabun* who have welded the 29,559 *tekiya* into tightly knit satrapies yielding about 60,000,000 yen in yearly tribute. The *tekiya*, always a colorful feature in Japan, have increased in numbers because war devastation destroyed so many permanent store buildings that the *tekiya* were relied upon as necessary substitutes.

By Metropolitan Police Board ordinance of December, 1946, *oyabun* assumed almost complete control over licensing (a polite word for fief granting), price-fixing, and operation of Tokyo *tekiya*. The *oyabun* are officially designated collectors of Tokyo mercantile taxes; after deducting a percentage for services (if not also for excess levies collected), the *oyabun* deliver the money to the city treasury. No effective supervision exists to

[16] Gambling abuses are, of course, not new in Japan. They stem, as in most Oriental countries, far back into the past. During the entire period since the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japanese police have campaigned for their eradication. One of the chief objectives of the so-called "Puritan reformers" of the 1930 period was the abolition of the *mah jong* racket. One of the strangest incidents, not yet clarified, was the amazing arrest, about 1893, of the entire Japanese Supreme Court on charges of gambling.

[17] Much confusion results from the misuse of English terms to describe these rufflans. A common word for the gangster of bygone days was the *machiyakko* (street guy), whom the ever-chivalrous Japanese dictionaries convert into "chivalrous man-about-town." Toyama Mitsuru, long head of the Black Dragon Society, delighted in being called "The Robin Hood of Japan." Even Gordon Walker, *op. cit.*, refers to the roughnecks as "vigilantes."

prevent exploitation, nor even to guard against undue delay between collection and final delivery of the tax money.

4. Blackmailers. Much of this activity is conducted by the gambler and hoodlum groups, but, in addition, according to Major Daniel C. Imboden, head of SCAP's section in charge of the Japanese press, there are some 1,080 illegal newspapers, the so-called *gorotsuki shimbun*, some charging as high as 200 yen per copy, which use black-market newsprint. Publication is, of course, the least important activity of these journals; they draw higher incomes for items not printed than for those printed.

5. Political clubs. These associations, usually ultra-conservative although sometimes extremely radical, constitute a large segment of the 1,250 so-called political parties of Japan. Customarily they have no definite platform other than the usual loyalty to the emperor, compliance with the Potsdam proclamation, promotion of democracy, and rehabilitation of Japan—slogans common to all parties (other than the Communists). Often they are mere adjuncts of the established parties, similar in character to the Youth Action Corps type of strong-arm men.[18] In many instances they are survivals either of prewar *soshi* (political bullies) or of *ronin* (soldiers of fortune) organizations; or they are new groups of crackpots dominated by ambitious political bosses.

Politicians were quick to seize upon these ready-made nuclei for the building of their postwar machines. Blocks of votes already disciplined to follow leaders and thoroughly indoctrinated with the idea that intimidation, violence, and bribery are legitimate weapons, were, therefore, sought by leaders of every political shade. Thus the black market, already affecting every person in Japan, entered politics; the *oyabun-kobun* system, already deeply ingrained in Japanese psychology, intensified its hold upon the people.[19]

[18] Youth Action Corps are primarily Communist party adjuncts described euphemistically as protective guards. Such groups are not, however, new features in Japan. Ever since the Meiji Restoration, Japanese politicians, of every shade of political opinion, have consistently relied upon the strong-arm tactics of *soshi* and *ronin* both for their own protection and for the discouragement of rivals.

[19] The *Shinei Taishuto* (Élite Party of the New Masses) is a typical example. Organized in 1946 by Maki Yasutoshi, a *tekiya* leader, as an "intermediary between capital and labor," it funnelled relief supplies, distributed by the city of Tokyo through Maki as its agent, to Maki's satellites. Maki built up a *kobun* following to help him in his campaign as a Liberal candidate for the Diet in his unsuccessful bid for election in 1946. Two of his satellites knifed Katsunami Katsuji, an undercover Communist who headed the Japan Congress of Industrial Organizations, when he attempted, in Jan., 1947, to call a general strike. The party called an anti-communist mass meeting, to be held on Dec. 14, 1947, the anniversary of the day when Japan's traditional heroes, the 47 *ronin*, met to avenge the death of their feudal lord. The meeting was not held, because Maki was arrested two days prior to the scheduled

Such is the network of organizations which, in the words of Colonel Charles L. Kades, assistant chief of Government Section, constitutes "a massive underground network extending from the smallest rural village to the highest echelons of the national government."[20] Kades has further declared that "this clannish and clandestine combination of bosses, hoodlums, and racketeers is the greatest threat to American democratic aims in Japan.[21]

This is not however to imply, as some American correspondents feverishly declared, that sinister master-minds, operating from behind a dark curtain, are in conspiracy against the Occupation.[22] There have been no organized Black Dragon Society plots to murder General MacArthur and his aides. Even Colonel Kades himself overstated the case when he assured the public procurators assigned to break up the *oyabun* that "unless you succeed, all gains of the past two years toward attaining democratic government responsible to the people will be imperilled if not extinguished."

While there is no tight organization and no hierarchy in the *oyabun* arrangements, there is, none the less, a certain community of interest. All such groups are conservative, all have a certain degree of cohesiveness based upon their family-like exclusiveness, their nostalgic feeling of reliance upon orders from above, their hunger for sonorous instructions, and their complete devotion to the Emperor as the soul and symbol of Japan. Professing a passionate devotion to justice, charity, love, and mutual obligation, they regard themselves as the embodiment of the true Japanese spirit.[23]

It is this cohesiveness and this dedication to ideas now looked upon as

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date. Toyama Naoki, Maki's successor as leader, thereupon publicly announced that his boys would burn down the house of assignation in which Maki had been arrested. This particular party was abolished as a dangerous reactionary organization, but scores of similar societies continue to exist.

[20] A curious confusion resulted. SCAP experts, not too well grounded in Japanese history and not fully aware of the complex social system, seeing the rise of gang politics, assumed that the fault lay with the *tonari gumi* (neighborhood associations) whereby all Japan had been subdivided into blocks of 5 to 10 households under an elective leader. The *tonari gumi* had sufficient grievous faults not to need attack upon this particular score, but by loading responsibility for political shortcomings upon them, and by abolishing the system on Mar. 31, 1947, SCAP broke up a going concern that might have been used constructively under better and more scientific leadership, without seriously affecting the evil it sought to end.

[21] The Kades speech, made to the public procurators in their annual meeting, is reported in *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 13, 1947.

[22] Cf. *Wichita Beacon*, Nov. 7, 1947.

[23] Shimizu Ikutaro, "Anti-Social Groups in Japanese Society," *Chuo Koron*, Sept., 1947; see also *Sekai Nippo*, Sept. 22, 1947.

"feudalistic" that rouse SCAP suspicion. *Oyabun* philosophies and principles are much too reminiscent of those professed by dangerous societies of the Black Dragon type. The form of patriotism that led, in the 1930 decade, to intimidation, assassination, and mass murder must not be permitted to revive.

SCAP's Attack Upon the Oyabun. For this reason, H. S. Eaton, chief of the Police Administration of Public Safety Division, conferred with officers of the Civil Information and Education Section on July 15, 1947, and later, on September 11, with officials of the Economic and Scientific Section, with a view to wiping out the evil aspects of the *oyabun* system. Subsequently, as the wider ramifications of the system came to be recognized, Government Section and other agencies were called into conference and a far-reaching campaign was instituted to rid Japan of the dangerous *oyabun* octopus.

Japanese government officials were at first reluctant to coöperate. This is to be ascribed in part to the age-long tie-up of the Japanese police with *oyabun* organizations, in part to the unquestioned fact that many high officials owed their appointments to *oyabun* influence.[24] Not only did ultra-conservative political parties oppose the investigation, lest their close relations with *oyabun* groups be revealed, but the Communists also proved reluctant to participate for fear that their ruthless Youth Action Corps might be found to have *oyabun-kobun* characteristics.

SCAP, however, insisted upon launching a campaign to cleanse Japan of these societies. As first fruits, the famous Matsuda gang controlling Shimbashi Market in Toyko, where a bloody gang war had raged, dissolved itself, its woman leader announcing that she would henceforth devote her efforts to social welfare.[25] The Shinohara gang of Ginza gamblers also in Tokyo, boasting an origin in the Yedo period, held formal dissolution ceremonies in Sukiyabashi Park on October 26, 1947, with its 64-year old leader, Shinohara Hodenosuke, announcing: "Now that my young men have become respectable, I pray they will not fall into evil ways."[26] Sekine

[24] Gordon Walker declared (*Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 13, 1947) that Welfare Minister Hitotsumatsu Sadakichi, a Democrat, was the adviser of an Osaka *tekiya* organization. Ozu Kinnosuke, *oyabun* of Shinjuku ward, Tokyo, was the officially recognized Liberal candidate for the Diet in 1947.

[25] The Matsuda Gang was founded by Matsuda Giichi upon his return from Shanghai after the war. Matsuda, shocked by the anarchy of Shimbashi Market, where *tekiya* keepers, ruffians, black-mailers, and gangsters fought and killed one another, welded them into a firm *oyabun-kobun* organization. He was killed in a gang war in July, 1946, and was succeeded by his widow, the chic young Matsuda Yoshiko, who found the task too difficult. She now says that the *yakuza* (scamps) must be wiped out, that movies and novels glorifying the *oyabun-kobun* system must be eradicated, and that the *yakuza*, "many of whom have clean pure hearts, though their profession is to fight," must lead honest lives. *Shukan Asahi*, Aug. 10, 1947.

[26] The dissolution of this and other gangs was marked by almost extravagant

Ken and Ozu Kinnosuke, notorious Tokyo gang leaders, converted their terroristic organizations into "democratic coöperatives."[27]

These last-hour repentances were, however, unimpressive. At the instigation of SCAP, the Japanese government, after trailing Sekine for a month, tried him, with ten others, on charges of illegally possessing a machine gun, and of having "set up headquarters for a disorderly purpose and for the felonious intent of committing acts of physical violence." While acquitted of the machine gun charge, he and his associates were sentenced to imprisonment for two to five years, and to payment of fines of from 50,000 to 75,000 yen each. Sekine received the heaviest sentence in both categories.[28] This outcome deeply impressed the Japanese. Sekine, boss of an organization said to control 50,000 people (though this was undoubtedly an exaggeration), was a close friend not only of Maki Yasutoshi, whose political club, the *Shinei Taishuto*, was his political arm, but also of Prince Kaya, a relative of the Emperor himself.

Other arrests, followed by convictions, were those of Ozu, once supposed to control 40,000 followers and erroneously believed by SCAP officials to be the king of gangsters; Yasuda Asanobu, who extorted 900,000 yen from *tekiya* between September, 1946, and March, 1947; and a number of lesser figures.[29] During the latter half of 1947, Tokyo police alone arrested 1,798 *oyabun-kobun* suspects. Of this number, only 9 were actually *oyabun* and 1,266 were *kobun*; the remainder were individuals held under sus-

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professions of democracy. Shimuyama Masuhisa of Asakusa ward, Tokyo, declared: "Some say our world is feudalistic, but what would humanity be without our spirit of benevolence and righteousness? I am in this business because I like it." *Ibid.*

[27] Sekine, learning that the police wanted him, ran away with a girl friend. For a month thereafter, although the Tokyo newspapers carried exact reports of his wanderings, the police could not find him. Then, when a lieutenant called upon Police Chief Tagano Mineo with a message that Sekine would surrender if assured of "a peaceful and amicable talk with the police," proper assurances were given, and Sekine consented to be caught. Meanwhile his organization, in Sekine's absence, voted to dissolve; but many members questioned the validity of the action. *Jiji Press*, Sept. 1, 1947. *Seiji*, Aug. 21, 1947, reported that approximately 500 groups had thus "dissolved."

[28] The machine gun was never linked to Sekine himself. *Jiji Press*, Oct. 16, 1947.

[29] It is noteworthy that some of these trials were for other charges than intimidation and violence, due to the fact that many witnesses proved reluctant to testify. Ozu, for instance, was convicted, and his property sold on Jan. 19, 1948, "for failure to pay delinquent taxes." The proceeds brought only 510,000 yen out of a total of 5,040,000 yen which had been levied upon him. Yasuda, who, according to *Mainichi*, Aug. 21, 1947, had taken a toll of from 10,000 to 30,000 yen per store, was not penalized for this as much as for his having extorted money from 37 *tekiya* which had never been set up; Yasuda had cheated them of the refunds due. Yasuda was also alleged (*Jiji Press*, Aug. 21, 1947) to have confiscated a sawmill set up within his "sphere of influence" without his prior consent.

picion. As a result, 939 were at once set free, but 613 were indicted and held for trial; at the end of the year, 246 cases were still under investigation.[30]

This police campaign, conducted all over Japan, was the government's answer to charges that the political life of the nation was dominated by gangsters. Prime Minister Katayama felt justified, therefore, in telling the House of Councillors, on November 29, 1947, that no basis existed for statements that "an underground organization was endeavoring to overthrow the government and political parties and to set up an extreme rightest organization." Admitting the presence of what he termed "some dregs of feudalism," he praised the progress made by the police in eliminating evils.[31]

As far as the general public is concerned, a public opinion poll bears out Katayama's assurances. While 96 per cent of those interviewed reported that they were "aware" of *oyabun-kobun* activities, a break-down showed that most people knew of them through "rumor," novels, or radio only; less than 9 per cent admitted having direct knowledge of the situation.[32] The general impression appeared to be that while spectacular successes were apparent in the arrest of certain figures, especially those in a had aided the opposition, little permanent change was being made who system that has characterized Japan for generations and which is well understood by Japanese.

[30] The nation-wide drive started later and full reports were slow of receipt. As of Oct. 20, *Mainichi* reported that a total of 7,962 arrests had been made. Of these, more than one-fifth (1,607) were in Nagasaki, another 1,143 in Osaka. The home minister, Kimura Kozaemon, announced that this total represented about 15 per cent of the 1,260 groups, of 53,051 known members, of the gangs. "They may not all be gamblers, toughs, or gangsters," he said, "but they are undesirable parasites grouped into '*gumi*' or '*ikke*,' led by so-called *kaoyaku* (neighborhood bosses)."

[31] Katayama's statement was made in response to an interpellation of Councillor Hani Goro, who asked about the truth of news dispatches sent to the United States by Howard Handleman of International News Service. *Seiji*, Nov. 30, 1947.

[32] This poll was taken by *Asahi* in Oct., 1947, after the police drive had been under way for nearly four months. It was reported in *Asahi*, Dec. 15, 1947. The poll covered 7,000 persons in Tokyo, Osaka, and northern Kyushu, and 2,822 replies were tabulated. Of those replying, 4 per cent supported the *oyabun-kobun*, 72 per cent opposed. Replies showed that 31 per cent had heard of the system through newspapers and radio, 24 per cent by rumor, 18 per cent through "friends who are members," 13 per cent through novels or story-tellers, 4 per cent through movies and 1 per cent through magazines. An additional 7 per cent claimed to be within the *oyabun* "sphere of influence" and 2 per cent admitted to being *kobun*. A further break-down disclosed that 2 per cent thought that the system was not objectionable, 58 per cent said it was undesirable, 78 per cent saw both good and bad effects, 2 per cent "generally good but with some defects," 14 per cent "some merits," and 6 per cent "don't know." It is characteristic of Japanese statistics that the figures do not add up to 100 per cent.

V. PARTY POLITICS IN THE NEW JAPANESE DIET*

JUSTIN WILLIAMS
Chief, Legislative Division, Government Section, SCAP

Internal Procedures. Unschooled in the history and theory of Occidental parliamentarism, the old political factions, with new names,[1] naturally try to adapt the new order of things in the Diet to the normal Japanese pattern. Their *modus operandi* during the first and second sessions—by way of adjusting to the Diet as the "highest organ of state power"[2]—is an eventful chapter in the development of popular government in Japan.

Basic is the fact that political parties manage the Diet: every action is a party action, every vote a party vote, every decision a party decision. The individual member stands for nothing.[3] Bills and resolutions, motions of any kind, speeches, interpellations, filibustering, even heckling and rowdyism, in committee and House sessions—all are products of political parties.

The primary agency through which political parties collectively manipulate the Diet is an entirely new piece of legislative machinery, the "Steering Committee," one of 21 standing committees in each House.[4] Each House invariably approves the recommendations of this committee, which concerns itself with expenditures from the contingent fund, requests for on-the-spot investigations, selection of House officials, recess,

* Nothing contained in this article is to be construed as in any sense official.

[1] The political parties and groups in each House, together with their membership, if any, on May 1, 1948, and May 20, 1947, the latter in parentheses, were as follows: *House of Representatives* (466)—Democratic Liberal (Liberal until Mar. 15, 1948), 150 (129); Social Democrat, 123 (144); Democrat, 92 (132); People's Coöperative, 30 (31); Social Renovation, 21; Independent Club, 10 (18); Japan Farmers, 7 (8); Japan Liberal, 6; Communist, 4 (4); non-affiliated, 4; vacancies, 19; *House of Councillors* (250)—*Ryokufukai* (Green Breeze), 87 (91); Social Democrat, 46 (47); Democratic Liberal (Liberal until Mar. 15, 1948), 45 (44); Democrat, 45 (42); Independent Club, 14 (19); Communist, 4 (4); non-affiliated, 4 (3); vacancies, 5. "... political parties are centered around personalities, with the boss-henchmen relationship still widespread. These personalities lack consistent political policies and ideals ... [hence] it is possible for them to split up readily or to band together ..." Saionji Kinichi, "Why Does the Political Situation Not Become Stabilized?," *Sekai Jeep* (monthly magazine), Mar., 1948.

[2] Constitution, Art. 41.

[3] Exception: "The bill intended to increase the salaries for themselves was the only one to which the legislators of both Houses literally gave unanimous consent during the stormy 1st session." *Kyodo* Press Service, Dec. 11, 1947.

[4] The other 20: Foreign Affairs, Public Safety, Land Planning, Judiciary, Education, Culture, Public Welfare, Labor, Agriculture-Forestry, Fisheries, Commerce, Mining-Industry, Electricity, Transportation, Communications, Finance, Budget, Audit, Library, Discipline. Diet Law, Art. 42.

extension of session, communications from the other House or the cabinet, amendments to the Diet Law, opening ceremony, and related topics. Although not absolutely required, unanimous committee consent is, in practice, attained, it being considered "fascistic" for the government parties to impose their will through sheer numerical superiority. As a result, action on controversial items is often deferred to the end of the session, by which time a compromise is reached or the majority, against bitter resistance, resorts to the highly distasteful expedient of "crushing" the opposition. The Steering Committee sits every weekday and sometimes on Sunday; it is the hub of each House.

The considerable power granted the *gicho* (speaker or president) by the Diet Law and House Rules is exercised *in toto* by the traditional Interparty Negotiating Conference, a body of plenipotentiaries whose unanimous agreement must be obtained before any item can be placed on the daily agenda of the House. Unauthorized by law, this group, meeting in closed sessions and presided over by the speaker, is composed of delegates representing each party of 25 or more members, as well as "observers" from smaller factions.[5] Pending complete agreement, the conferees recess repeatedly for consultations with their respective parties. During the second Diet session under the new constitution, a dispute over whether a resolution of condolence to a deceased member's family should be given priority on the agenda over the bill for Temporary Appointment of Parliamentary Vice-Ministers caused a 24-hour postponement of the plenary session of the House of Representatives.[6] When an argument is settled in

[5] First organized as the Consultative Council in 1904 to bring about the downfall of the Ito cabinet, this body of party agents, on Jan. 31, 1939, adopted the title of Interparty Negotiating Conference and framed the Regulations under which it still functions. Art. 1 authorizes the speaker to convene party delegates "to confer on matters deemed necessary by the speaker." Art. 2 stipulates that each bargaining body must have 25 or more members. Art. 5 requires the presence of at least one representative from each bargaining body before the Conference can sit. Art. 6 requires that the "proceedings . . . shall be decided unanimously." Art. 7 binds all parties to Conference decisions. Art. 8 permits an agent of each small party to "listen to the proceedings" and, with the speaker's consent, to express opinions. In 1947, the House of Councillors organized an Interparty Conference, which adopted these regulations, excepting Art. 2. (Information furnished by the secretaries-general of the Houses.) The Diet Law, Art. 55, states: "The *gicho* shall fix the calendar of proceedings and give advance notice of same to the House." Early in May, 1948, the Houses jointly proposed to dispense with the Interparty Conference by adding the following clause to Art. 55 of the Diet Law: "In fixing the calendar, the *gicho* may consult only with, but need not be bound by the decisions of, a sub-committee of the House Steering Committee." Supported by all parties, this amendment is expected to win Diet approval.

[6] House of Representatives, Secretary-General's notes on Interparty Conference Proceedings, Apr. 5, 1948 (stenographic records of these meetings are not taken). The resolution of condolence was given priority.

favor of the majority, a face-saving concession, no matter how trivial, must be made to the minority.

During meetings of the Interparty Conference, members of the several parties are assembled in their respective caucus rooms in the Diet building. Here, party decisions are hammered out. Although major issues are oftener than not resolved by the executive directors alone, rank-and-file members in caucus are privileged to express themselves as freely, as often, and as vehemently as they like; but once the party is committed, all members without exception either accept the verdict, resign, or are expelled. The small bargaining groups in the House of Representatives are made up largely of those who refuse to knuckle under to the party bosses.[7]

The political parties select House officials with painstaking care. The speaker and vice-speaker of the House of Representatives are chosen from the largest and second largest party,[8] respectively, and standing committee chairmen, holding offices created by the Diet Law,[9] exclusively from government parties in proportion to their numerical strength. The Councillors pick all officials on a proportional party basis, making no distinction between government and opposition factions.[10] Only the secretary-

[7] Switching to the arch-conservative Democratic Liberal party in Apr., 1948, left-wing Socialist Moriyama Takehiko, acrimoniously perhaps, explained: "I think the Socialist party is fascistic. All matters are decided by the Central Executive Committee and the other members have no voice in anything." *Shin Hochi*, Apr. 20, 1948. *Jiji* Press reported, Mar. 19, 1948: "During the past 11 months, a total of 285 members of the House of Representatives criss-crossed from one party to another in search of the best political cushion to fall back upon." During this period, one member started as a Liberal, left the party and became an independent, later affiliated with the Doshi Club (rebel Democrats), and wound up in the Democratic Liberal party, whence he started. *Ibid.*

[8] This is by custom only. Yamazaki Takeshi, Liberal, on assuming the speakership in 1946, resigned from his party but rejoined it before the general election of Apr., 1947. Speaker Matsuoka Komakichi, Socialist, retained his party membership during the first and second Diet sessions. The parties in power would not accept an opposition member for speaker or vice-speaker for fear he might entertain a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet at an inopportune moment. The latter point was explained to the writer by Prime Minister Ashida Hitoshi.

[9] Art. 16. *Jimmin*, June 25, 1947, editorialized: "There was no partiality shown in the recent appointment of the chairmen of the standing committees, who were determined on the basis of technical knowledge and experience." The Kanazawa *Hokkoku Mainichi*, June 5, 1947, commented on the same subject: " . . . men of ministerial class or of greater ability should be placed as chairmen. . . . From this point of view, the nomination of chairmen of the standing committees in both Houses, made public on June 3, fulfilled our expectations." From *Asahi*, June 4, 1947: " . . . yesterday the chairmen and members of the 21 standing committees were selected, and the nerve centers of the new National Diet came into existence."

[10] On the surface, party conflict is less pronounced in the House of Councilors than in the House of Representatives. Plenary sessions in the former are, by contrast, orderly and dignified, a carry-over from the House of Peers, whose tradition

general,[11] a non-member official, is elected by each House without reference to party politics.

Unlike the Diet *gicho*, who do the bidding of the Interparty Conferences, standing committee chairmen, unaccustomed to their recently established position, are not completely subservient to their party bosses or to the members of their committees. Although, by and large, they dutifully adhere to the policies mutually agreed upon by the government parties, a notable exception was the case of the chairman of the House of Representatives budget committee who persuaded his Socialist left-wing committee colleagues to join the opposition liberals in defeating an important cabinet measure and, in so doing, caused the Katayama cabinet to resign.[12] An extreme case of unilateral action was that of a chairman who, without consulting either his committee or the House, designated the head of an important new national agency and signed a contract presumably obligating the Diet to purchase materials valued at millions of yen, suffering as a consequence nothing more serious than having his actions termed "feudalistic" by members of his committee.[13] Most chairmen personally select the two "qualified specialists" assigned to each standing committee, and they have tended to arrogate to

of decorum is cherished. Actually, the Democrats, Liberals, Socialists, and Communists—comprising 140 of the 250 members of the second chamber, are as rabidly partisan as their legislative brethren in the opposite wing. Ostensibly a group of independents, the 87 members of the *Ryokufukai* (Green Breeze Society) are known partisans, expected to join the party of their preference sooner or later.

[11] Cabinet appointees of *chokunin* rank under the *Meiji* constitution, these important officials are now employees of the Houses. If the incumbent secretaries-general, carried over from the old régime, have not entirely abandoned their bureaucratic habits, they have skillfully and patiently coached the National Diet tyros in the use of the new parliamentary procedures. Ozaki Yukio, member of the Diet continuously since 1890 and its most outspoken critic, bluntly observed that members of the first National Diet lack "knowledge of how to run the Diet. The Speaker of the Lower House seems to be an intelligent man, but as he knows scarcely anything about the procedure of the Diet, he is forced to conduct business in line with the instructions of the Secretary-General and other bureaucrats." *Shin Hochi*, July 31, 1947.

[12] Compelled by his party to resign the chairmanship of the budget committee of the House of Representatives because, as he confessed, " . . . my behavior has caused not only the fall of the Katayama cabinet but a schism within our party at a time when it is urgently necessary for us to unite closely as a perfect opposition party to face the next elections," Suzuki Mosaburo said: "I am certain that my attitude as chairman of the budget committee toward raising railway fares and postal rates . . . conformed with the general wishes of the people and the decision of our party's national convention. It was by no means permissible under the authority of the National Diet and the responsibility of a government party blindly to swallow the budget bill in question when there were other financial sources available." *Tokyo Shimbun*, Feb. 14, 1948.

[13] Details explained to writer by various Diet members and officials.

their exclusive use the committee automobiles. In the main, however, they have conducted themselves in a manner equally satisfactory to government and opposition members.

Second only to true cabinet responsibility as the most profound reform in the postwar Japanese system of government, Diet standing committees, in contrast with the former impotent *ad hoc* committees, give promise of maturing into mighty instruments of the political parties for combatting the entrenched bureaucracy. Empowered to examine legislative bills, conduct on-the-spot investigations, hold public hearings, subpoena witnesses, demand and receive official documents, and determine the use of public funds,[14] the standing committees generously use, sometimes abuse, their extensive rights. Not only do they deliberate thoroughly upon cabinet bills referred to them and occasionally sponsor a piece of legislation of their own, but they also traverse the four islands of Japan seeking firsthand knowledge about coal mines, factories, power sites, penal institutions, police stations, courts, parks, shrines, museums, libraries, schools, repatriation camps, flood-damaged areas, fisheries, harbors, and so forth.[15] With dignity, skill, and impartiality, a number of standing committees conducted public hearings in the Diet building, eschewing levity of any sort as well as cheap publicity for individual members and political capital for any party, listening to the testimony of "learned persons" and ordinary citizens of both sexes, attracting large crowds and receiving prominent coverage in the press.[16] Still in the apprentice stage, standing committees, as they gain experience and confidence, will delve deeper into the mysteries of the bureaucratic stronghold.

Plenary Sessions. Diet plenary sessions have never been, and are not now, occasions for forensic clashes between the orators of the opposing parties, nor for reshaping legislative bills reported out of committee, nor for speeches merely for the record. Plenary sessions are held for three general reasons: first, to give perfunctory approval to matters previously decided in committees; second, to afford spokesmen of the several parties a chance publicly to interrogate and embarrass cabinet ministers; and

[14] Diet Law, Art. 42, 51, 103, 104, 106; Constitution, Art. 85: "No money shall be expended . . . except as authorized by the Diet."

[15] At the outset of the first Diet session, replying to a correspondent's question concerning this new Diet function, Speaker Matsuoka prophesied: "We can now investigate at our will and I believe we will be rather active." *Yomiuri*, June 24, 1947. During the succeeding eleven months, a total of 63 junkets was made by Diet standing committees.

[16] First page headline, *Nippon Times*, Aug. 13, 1947: "Man-in-the-Street Has His Say At Hearings on Adultery Issue: Teachers, Office Workers, Farmers, Authors, and Others Asked to Testify." Although this was the first time the people ever participated in the legislative process, the press covered the hearing as if it had been a commonplace Diet occurrence.

third, to conclude filibusters in an atmosphere of turbulence. During slack periods, when the cabinet falls behind in submitting bills to the Diet, members become bored and recess for periods up to 10 days at a time. The Diet Law requires a plenary session at least once every two weeks during the term for "free discussion."[17] Designed specifically to liberate members from rigid party control, this innovation has been far from successful, although numerous experiments with it have been tried. In the beginning, the Steering Committee selected the speakers and the subject for discussion and fixed a time limit for each speech; later, selected speakers were allowed to choose their own subjects; finally a plan was worked out whereby the *gicho* recognized predesignated party floor leaders who, in turn, nominated spokesmen for their respective parties. Not once, however, have individual members been authorized to rise at will and address the House. Seldom do the major parties avail themselves of this opportunity to be heard; never does the Communist party pass up its allotted time. Notwithstanding the Diet Law provision, no member would dare conclude his remarks by offering a motion unsanctioned in advance by the Interparty Conference. Free discussion is incompatible with the Japanese type of party discipline.[18]

Political parties use the Diet chambers to best advantage as public forums for interpellating cabinet ministers. Opposition members effectively attack a prime minister's policy address at the beginning of his administration, consuming for this purpose from five to ten plenary sessions. Strangely enough, members of one government party interrogate cabinet ministers of other government parties not so much to cause embarrassment as to emphasize the unsettled and doubtful planks in the coalition platform.[19] Requests for "urgent" interpellations are freely granted by

[17] Diet Law, Art. 78.

[18] The earlier free discussion sessions drew some interesting newspaper comment. *Asahi*, July 8, 1947: " . . . the lower House held its first free discussion on July 7 . . . the sweltering galleries were filled to capacity . . . every political party seemed to have picked its most spirited speakers . . . Contrary to expectations, the free discussion lacked vigor . . . After adjournment . . . someone made the criticism that it was like the radio program "The Man In The Street." Nevertheless, the fact that national assemblymen . . . should reveal their true positions in a public hall filled with spectators is good for the development of democracy;" *Jiji* Press, July 8, 1947: " . . . Mrs. Togano made her debut as the first woman speaker of this session, but her speech failed to impress the assembly;" *Shin Hochi*, July 13, 1947: "If this system is introduced into local assemblies, self-governing bodies, labor unions, and all other organizations, it will do much for the progress of democratic politics. . . . This is the best chance for the Diet . . . to get rid of its old customs and traditions and devise a new procedure for expressing individual opinions;" *Asahi*, July 31, 1947: " . . . since this system is a new feature of our parliamentary government, we believe that the standard of free debate will rise;" *Jimmin*, Aug. 6, 1947: " . . . members have wasted these ten days by holding free discussions and meetings."

[19] Explained to writer by Asanuma Inejiro, secretary-general, Socialist party, and chairman of the House of Representatives Steering Committee.

the Steering Committee, which requires only that sufficient cause be given for orally questioning one or more cabinet ministers. The various political factions are particularly skillful in the use of this well-developed parliamentary device.

Opposition parties resort to filibustering in House plenary sessions only after exhausting all other efforts to delay and defeat unacceptable legislation sponsored by the government parties. The filibuster starts when the objectionable measure is referred to committee. Hoping to defeat it, or at least to effect a reasonably satisfactory compromise, opposition committee directors exercise their extensive rights to deliberate almost indefinitely, scheduling for this purpose lengthy interpellations on each and every clause, to which meaningless amendments are proposed and debated, calling for the testimony of lay experts, requesting postponement of committee hearings, absenting themselves to prevent a committee action. When at last the majority party bosses lose patience and demand results, the delaying tactics of the opposition are only intensified. Preparations of the committee chairman for a final vote are countered by opposition motions to transfer the hearing to another room and to recess for party conferences, meals, and personal comfort. Debating each motion, sometimes for two whole days, the committee ultimately upholds the position of the chairman, against whom a resolution of no-confidence is immediately proposed for "dictatorially and undemocratically" curtailing committee deliberations. At this stage, which is characterized by personal insults, profane language, destruction of furniture, scattering of stenographic records, open fighting, and intervention of the House guards, the sitting adjourns, to be reconvened, if at all, on the basis of an agreement reached by the Steering Committee.[20]

Meantime, the argument is transferred to the Interparty Conference, where the speaker cannot possibly obtain unanimous consent for holding a plenary session. After two or three days, the deadlock is finally broken

[20] These tactics were used by the Socialist party in opposing the Election Law Amendment Bill during the closing days of the 92nd session. Headline in *Nippon Times*, Mar. 28, 1947: "Fists Fly in Diet as Liberals Clash with Cabinet Foes; Lower Chamber is Thrown into Pandemonium; 2 Members Suffer Severe Contusions." The same issue went on to say: "A free-for-all in the House of Representatives Election Law Amendment Bill Committee Wednesday, evoking memories of the old party politics days, resulted in some casualties and a lawsuit against the Socialist Party. . . . The fight began when Yamamura Shinjiro, Liberal, made a motion to cut short the speech of Satake Haruki, Socialist. . . . Both Government and Opposition members sprang to their feet and blows began to rain . . . the argument overflowed into the corridors. . . . Meanwhile, the Interparty Conference meeting Wednesday failed to reach agreement. . . . The Liberal and Progressive parties issued a joint statement bitterly criticizing the 'unconstitutional' action of the Opposition members in resorting to violence and inexcusable interference with the Committee proceedings . . . in direct contradiction of the principles of parliamentary politics."

when the Speaker unprecedentedly orders a House session in defiance of Interparty Conference Regulations, whereupon the opposition retaliates by proposing a dreaded resolution of no-confidence in the Speaker. In the ensuing plenary sessions, the filibuster rapidly reaches a climax. Limited to one or two hours of speaking time by the "dictatorial" *gicho*, the minor parties deliberately convert the chamber into an arena of ribaldry and ruffianism. In a din of noise punctured by piercing yells, with members gesturing menacingly at each other, the speaker raps for order; but no one can hear him. Confused and disgusted, the speaker rings the bell, signaling adjournment for the day. Next day, perhaps by 7:00 or 8:00 p.m., inebriated filibusterers stagger into the chamber shouting charges of "unconstitutionality," "violation of the rules," and "unprecedented action." Voting on the first item of business, unsteady opposition members rise as a secretary calls off their names, move at a snail's pace toward the rostrum, chat with old cronies along the way, engage in fisticuffs without provocation, and halt just short of the ballot box to tie their shoelaces, thus preventing the vote from being completed by midnight and forcing the speaker to declare the calendar day at an end (Japanese legislators consider stopping the clock unethical). A matter of hours, perhaps, before the Diet session is to close, the speaker, to break the filibuster, asserts his authority under the Diet Law, increases the guard complement inside the chamber, arbitrarily limits debate, entertains a motion to put the main question, and sets a time limit on voting. The filibuster over, members of all parties breathe a sigh of relief, open their newspapers to the leading editorial, and find the caption: "Diet or Zoo?"[21]

Japanese deplore rowdyism in their national legislature but minimize its significance, taking the attitude that excessively rigid discipline invites and justifies the use of strong-arm methods. A scattering of individ-

[21] Title of editorial in *Nippon Times*, Nov. 25, 1947. These tactics were employed by the Liberal party and a fifth of the Democrats in an effort to defeat the Temporary State Control of Coal Mining Bill during the closing days of the first session of the National Diet. Headline in *Mainichi*, Nov. 23, 1947: "Violence and Swearing Mark Three Days of Diet Brawls." The article continued: "When Speaker Matsuoka asked for the presentation of an interim report by Chairman Ito of the Mining-Industry Committee at a plenary session held on the afternoon of November 22, about 15 Liberals rushed to the Speaker's seat, throwing the Diet into great confusion. Imamura of the Liberal Party rushed to the rostrum and grappled with guards. When he was ordered by the Speaker to leave the hall, all Liberals opposed the order, loudly accusing the Speaker of 'arbitrariness'. . . . On the night of November 21 . . . a plenary session began as late as 9:40 and the Liberals resorted to delaying tactics. Seven had cast their votes when the Speaker declared adjournment of the meeting at 12:00 p.m. . . . Oyama Ikuo, who came home recently from his long exile in America, stated: 'At first I could not believe that such bad behavior could happen in the democratic Diet . . . but now I . . . know that the report is true. It makes me very ashamed!"

ual members in the government faction would vote with the opposition except for certainty of expulsion from their party. Knowing this, the filibusterers go to extremes in attempting to break the solidarity of the government coalition and, failing, feel compensated for having dramatized the righteousness of their crusade.[22]

Lobbying. Closely related to filibustering is the Japanese system of lobbying, the type of which is determined by the intensity of the pressure to be applied. Under ordinary circumstances, lobbying consists of nothing more than liaison between the agents of the special interests concerned and party leaders in the Diet, a simple chore preformed by *ingaidan*, inaccurately translated "lobbyists" (but meaning bully-boys or hooligans), who perform menial chores as directed, but exert no influence.[23] When results cannot be accomplished by *ingaidan*, a *ronin*, or political broker, dining with selected party members at an inconspicuous restaurant, imparts with cultivated restraint his keen disappointment at the trend of events.[24] If the necessary votes are still lacking, as they were in the strug-

[22] This explanation was made to the writer by a number of Liberal party leaders. But *Asahi*, Nov. 25, 1947, raised another point: "What we wish to consider especially on this occasion is whether such acts on the part of Diet members are not rooted deeply in the very fabric of our national traits. . . . The sorry psychology that takes these things to be only a daily commonplace is presumably at the back of all minds among the Japanese. . . . Unless we thoroughly correct this vicious habit . . . there is a fertile soil for the reappearance of fascism."

[23] Employed or supported by a political party, these "non-parliamentary members of political parties"—ex-Diet members, former bodyguards of cabinet ministers, hangers-on—constitute the administrative staff, assisting with election campaigns, downtown shopping for members, correspondence, and other odds and ends. It has been customary for each party to employ twenty or more *ingaidan*, supplying them with coat-lapel insignia for entering and leaving the Diet building unmolested by the guards. On Aug. 5, 1946, one of these bullies roughed-up a Diet guard, an incident dramatized by the press a month later, when a *Yomiuri* reporter learned of it. *Nippon Times*, Sept. 10, 1946.

[24] Also referred to as *kuromaku* ("black curtain," hence back-of-the-scenes manipulators, or just plain wire-pullers) and *oyabun* (master, hence political boss, boss of *ingaidan*, one who unselfishly gives away money). Investigating behind-the-scenes money donations by one Tsuji Karoku, to 80 or more Diet candidates in Apr., 1947, the House of Representatives Illegal Property Transactions Special Investigating Committee, during Apr., 1948, revealed that Tsuji had received several millions of yen for this purpose. The president of a large industrial firm testified: "I accommodated Mr. Tsuji with one million yen around Aug., 1947, and two million yen during and after the war. . . . Since I was 21 years of age, I have looked upon him, so to speak, as my father. He teases me for his pocket money. Last August my firm was in difficulty, but I managed to give him one million yen by letting an office building and by contracting debts. . . . I think Mr. Tsuji made use of the money . . . to clear his debts . . . his lavishing money for political parties and statesmen is his disagreeable hobby." House of Representatives, Minutes of the Illegal Property Transactions Special Investigating Committee, Apr. 7, 1948. "Hatoyama,

gle over state control of coal mining, the third and final type of lobbying, namely, direct intervention by the special interests affected, is employed. In November, 1947, Kyushu and Hokkaido mine-owners descended on Tokyo, took over a well-known hotel in Kanda ward, and allegedly lavished food and money on any political party members who could be tempted. In addition, the mine-owners invaded the Diet building, buttonholed members outside the Mining-Industry Committee room, made themselves at home in the Democratic and Liberal party caucus chambers, and for almost a week personally directed the campaign of rowdyism in the House of Representatives.[25] That the *zaibatsu* of the business world stooped to this sordid business is proof that they recognize the new status of the Diet. Previously their lobbying efforts were confined to the all-powerful ministries.[26]

Designation of the Prime Minister. Political parties reveal their true character during the ordeal of selecting a prime minister. Designating the first prime minister under the new constitution in May, 1947, was difficult. Starting negotiations a week before Diet convocation, on the initiative of the plurality Socialist party, leaders of the four major parties first of all concluded an agreement which practically outlawed the Socialist platform. Rejecting the Liberals' proposal to enter the cabinet on condition that the president of the Liberal party, Yoshida Shigeru, be designated prime minister, the Socialists, Democrats, and Peoples' Coöperatives, through a series of complicated deals and maneuvers, finally patched up a three-party pact, within the framework of the four-party

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ex-president of the Liberal Party . . . received one million yen from Tsuji to build himself a new house . . . even the rent for the room of a restaurant which the Liberal Party uses as its headquarters has been paid by such ill-gotten money. People have always entertained various doubts about the supply of funds to political parties, but they certainly must not have guessed that the political world was corrupt to this extent." *Jimmin*, Apr. 17, 1948.

[25] In a Socialist party caucus held on Nov. 24, charges were made that "coal mine operators were threatening Representatives supporting the bill within the sacred walls of the National Assembly. . . . By this, it became clear that the confusion, violence, and drag-out tactics employed by the Liberal Party since Nov. 20 were all a part of a prearranged plan. Moreover, it is clear that these actions were conducted under the close supervision of the coal-mine operators." Tokyo *Mimpo*, Nov. 26, 1947. A Socialist member reported: "We went over to the lobby of the Liberal Party. . . . When we got there, there were some coal-mine operators standing around . . . and they challenged us with, 'If you're looking for a fight, here are five of us coal men. We'll take you on at any time!' " *Ibid.*

[26] This was accomplished principally through *shokutaku* (non-official staff), full-time employees of banks, insurance companies, industries, and control associations, who occupied offices in the different ministry buildings and participated in the plans and operations of these executive agencies. By Cabinet Order No. 56, promulgated Mar. 16, 1948, the *shokutaku* system was abolished.

agreement, whereby Socialist Katayama Tetsu should be named prime minister and cabinet posts divided between the four parties, the Liberals willing, otherwise between the remaining three. Any prospect of a logical Democratic-Liberal coalition was ruled out by the bitter feud between their leaders, Yoshida and Ashida Hitoshi, the latter a renegade Liberal. It was impossible for two camps as far apart ideologically as the Liberals and Socialists to unite under a Socialist prime minister. Though smarting under the accord which junked their platform and indirectly labeled them political pariahs, the left-wing Socialists nevertheless welcomed the chief cabinet post for the president of their party, whose members had but recently been hounded and jailed under the notorious Peace Preservation Law. Thus, Katayama's name alone was placed in nomination in both Houses ten days after party negotiations started and the third day after Diet convocation. Had the preliminaries been omitted in favor of nomination by each party at the opening of the Diet session, Katayama and Yoshida would have led on the first ballot. Assuming a Katayama victory on the second ballot, with the support of the Democrats, negotiations for a policy agreement and for division of cabinet positions would probably have consumed a month of precious time.[27]

Although the constitution stipulates that the cabinet must either resign or dissolve the House of Representatives following a no-confidence resolution or failure to obtain a vote of confidence,[28] the Katayama cabinet resigned, after nine months in power, under neither of these circumstances. Confronted with a dangerous breach within his own party, Katayama could have provoked a no-confidence resolution with ease,[29] which would have given him a choice between resignation or dissolution. But desirous of healing rather than widening the rift in the Socialist

[27] Decision on the prime ministership was in absolute doubt until 3:00 p.m., May 23, when a "Big Four" conference broke the four-day deadlock over the chief executive's post. Yoshida had remained the betting favorite until the last minute. A straw in the wind was the selection the previous evening of a Socialist for speaker of the House of Representatives, with the support of the strong Ashida faction of the Democrats and of the People's Coöperatives. Ashida maneuvered the Liberals out of the picture and at the same time prevailed upon the Socialists to keep left-wingers out of the cabinet. Daily articles in *Nippon Times*, May 10–25, 1947.

[28] Constitution, Art. 69.

[29] The cabinet had decided to increase railway and postal rates by cabinet order for the purpose of raising money with which to pay all government workers a bonus of eight-tenths of a month's salary. But the increased revenues could not be paid until appropriated for that purpose by the Diet. For sound economic and political reasons, the left-wing Socialists in the House of Representatives budget committee were determined to defeat this appropriation measure at all costs. Had Katayama pressed the issue any further, the House of Representatives would have voted against him—an action which would have constituted a vote of no-confidence in the cabinet. *Mainichi*, Feb. 9, 1948.

party, and thinking dissolution and a general election inopportune, he quit without forcing the issue or having it forced upon him.[30]

The Liberals immediately contended that the Diet was under obligation to designate Yoshida, leader of the largest opposition party, as prime minister. Unconvinced by this argument, the Socialists, Democrats, and People's Coöperatives in the House of Representatives remained in power by designating Democrat Ashida as the new prime minister by a vote of 216 to 180 for Yoshida, though the Councillors favored Yoshida over Ashida, 104 to 102.[31] Ashida's triumph caused the venerable Saito Takao to withdraw from the Democratic party and issue the following stinging rebuke to those whose views did not coincide with his:[32]

"The Democratic leaders recently evaded their responsibility for the Katayama cabinet's downfall, trampled on constitutional principles, and disturbed political order for the sake of an unnatural struggle for power. They showed no signs of self-reflection despite severe public criticism, temporized particularly by accepting, under camouflaged pretexts, Socialists policies which are fundamentally inconsistent with theirs, and thus attempted to deceive the people. Such action is actually identical with making a plaything of politics and is indeed a breach of faith, neglecting the spirit underlying the formation of the Party and being far from the province of a genuine public party."

During the eleven-day interval when Ashida was carrying on this "unnatural struggle for power," the opposition parties were by contrast presumably carrying on a natural struggle for power, employing to that end well-known symbols to drive their arguments home. For example, Liberal party President Yoshida, long accustomed to Western dress in public, suddenly began appearing daily in the Diet building wearing the traditional Japanese *kimono*. At the same time, members of his party, displaying artificial white roses in their coat lapels, delivered soap-box speeches on Tokyo street corners, denouncing the coalition parties for violating "true constitutional principles."[33]

[30] In a statement explaining his resignation, Katayama referred to "difficulties of the internal situation of political parties. . . . The decision to resign without resorting especially to dissolving the National Diet at this time is due to a serious consideration for the existing situation both within and outside the Cabinet." *Nippon Times*, Feb. 11, 1948.

[31] Proceedings of the House of Representatives, No. 19, Feb. 21, 1948; Proceedings of the House of Councillors, No. 13, Feb. 21, 1948. Constitution, Art. 67: "If the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors disagree [on the designation of the prime minister] and if no agreement can be reached even through a joint committee . . . the decision of the House of Representatives shall be the decision of the Diet." A joint committee of the Houses met briefly on Feb. 23 and disagreed, thereby completing the requirements for the designation of Ashida by the Diet.

[32] *Yomiuri*, Mar. 4, 1948.

[33] "True constitutional principles" is a reference to the normal course under the old system, wherein "political power did not always go to the first party, nor did

Relations with the Executive Branch. Obliged to establish working relations with genuinely responsible cabinets after 58 years of toadying to militaristic and bureaucratic cabinets, the political parties in the Diet were reasonably successful during the first year of the new order. At the outset of the first session, an important issue arose over cabinet appointment of Diet members to posts of parliamentary vice-minister and parliamentary councillor. The Diet Law forbids members concurrently to hold positions in the executive branch except as authorized by law or by Diet consent. When the Katayama cabinet began distributing these coveted government offices among the three coalition parties in the first chamber, precisely as previous cabinets had done since 1925 under Article 10 of the Election Law for Members of the House of Representatives, the House of Councillors and those Representatives who were slighted protested this affront to the dignity of the legislative branch. As a compromise, the Diet agreed to the temporary appointment of 11 parliamentary vice-ministers only, with the understanding that the system would be re-examined at the close of the annual session in May, 1948.[34]

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a government resign *en bloc* simply because it had lost the majority in the Diet. On the contrary, a party cabinet, even if commanding a majority in the Diet, was apt to resign *en bloc* if it came to a deadlock. Then the opposition party, generally a minority, organized a cabinet, dissolved the Diet, became the first party by holding a general election, and remained in power until it failed. This was the usual procedure of party politics under the old constitution." *Mainichi*, Feb. 10, 1948. The "Constitution Safeguarding Movement" was launched six days after Katayama's resignation by the Liberals, Communists, Shidehara Democrats, Independent Club, Japan Farmers, and the National Farmers Union Club. Members who wore the white rose did so in the belief that it was a symbol of true constitutionalism, having its roots in the early nineteenth century. The French had used it, they believed, and Diet members wore the flower in 1912 in protest against the unconstitutional behavior of Premier General Katsura Taro. "Ever since," one veteran politician explained, "the white rose has always bloomed in the dimly lit halls of the Diet building whenever dark political clouds hang menacingly over the Diet, threatening to bring pressure to bear on the constitution." *Jiji* Press, Feb. 19, 1948.

[34] House of Representatives Election Law, Art. 10: "Officials and those treated as officials with the exceptions hereafter listed may not combine their offices with membership in the House of Representatives: 1. Cabinet ministers, 2. Chief secretary of the cabinet, 3. President of the Bureau of Legislation, 4. Parliamentary under-secretaries of all ministries, 5. Parliamentary councillors of all ministries, 6. Private secretaries of the premier, 7. Private secretaries of all ministries, 8. Private secretaries to state ministers." Diet Law, Art. 39: "Members cannot be appointed to committees, advisory posts, non-official staff (*shokutaku*), or other similar branches of the Government, unless such an appointment is fixed by law or provided by a decision of the Diet." At the height of the dispute, *Yomiuri*, June 6, 1947, declared: " . . . we fear from the depth of our hearts that the posts of parliamentary vice-ministers and councillors have become the targets of job-seekers. In the recent election, it was rumored that the vice-ministership and councillorship were worth 500,000 and 300,000 yen, respectively. . . . These office-seekers consider that the holding of these government posts will surely mean victory in the next election."

The controversy was reopened in February, 1948, when Prime Minister-designate Ashida started forming his cabinet. In order to appease recalcitrant members of the coalition parties and simultaneously assure a working majority in the unfriendly House of Councillors, he requested Diet consent to double the number of government positions for Diet members. The Law for Temporary Appointment of Parliamentary Vice-Ministers,[35] enacted April 7, 1948, satisfied his request but also repealed the Election Law provision which authorized these cabinet raids on Diet membership, thus removing an important cause of vicious inter- and intraparty strife and a means theretofore employed by cabinets to break Diet resistance.

Another tiff between the Diet and the cabinet took place upon the expiration of the original fifty-day special session of the first Diet, when the chief cabinet secretary publicly announced that the cabinet would extend the session three weeks. Next day the Diet *gicho*, supported by all parties, released the following joint statement to the press:[36] "In contrast with former procedure, the term of a Diet session . . . is decided by the National Diet itself and not by the government . . . The National Diet receives no directions in this connection . . . . The purpose of this announcement is to make clear to the nation the position of the National Diet." Subsequent to this ultimatum, prime ministers desiring an extension of a session have found it advisable personally to present their case to the Diet steering committees.[37]

The question of cabinet orders was first raised, not by the political parties in the House of Representatives, but by the "impartial statesmen" in the second chamber. Under the constitutional stipulation that cabinet orders may by issued only for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the basic charter and of Diet-enacted laws, the House of Councillors, midway in the first session, on a tip from one of its standing committee "qualified specialists," executed a clever maneuver which caught the

[35] Proceedings of the House of Representatives, No. 39, Apr. 5, 1948; Appendix to Proceedings of the House of Councillors, No. 31, Apr. 7, 1948. Concerning the mad scramble for these posts, *Asahi*, Mar. 18, 1948, pointed out: "The use of an automobile, a private office equipped with a buzzer with which they can call their subordinates at any time, etc., may be the attraction of the position." *Seiji*, Mar. 23, 1948, observed that the objectives claimed for the system "can be readily achieved through the present standing committees composed of Diet members who are authorized to investigate all matters concerning administration. Moreover, the party government system nullifies the need for a special liaison organ between the government and the government parties."

[36] *Jiji* Press, June 17, 1947.

[37] Prime Minister Ashida, together with his finance minister and the attorney-general, argued the case for extending the second Diet session before committees of both Houses. House of Representatives, Minutes of the Steering Committee, Apr. 22, 1948; House of Councillors, Minutes of the Steering Committee, Apr. 26, 1948.

House of Representatives off balance: it amended the Labor Ministry Bill, already unanimously approved in the first chamber, by substituting the expression "by Diet consent" for "by cabinet order" in the clause providing for the creation of additional bureaus in the Labor Ministry. Irked by the Councillors' brashness, but overlooking the larger issue, the government parties in the House of Representatives would have maintained their original position, purely as a matter of face, had they been able to muster the necessary two-thirds vote; they acquiesced when the Liberal party gleefully took the side of the Councillors, just as the latter had correctly predicted.[38] All parties have since been on the alert for clauses in cabinet bills which impinge upon the Diet's constitutional powers.

Toward the end of the first session, the Diet began showing singular interest in the national budget, which in the past it could neither initiate, increase, nor decrease. When told by Finance Ministry officials that budget-making would still be conducted as before, the budget committee of the House of Representatives, with an eye on Article 83 of the constitution which gives the Diet "power to administer national finances," suggested what may be expected in the not-too-remote future when it announced:[39] "Supplementary budgets are being decided by the Finance Ministry, while the House Budget Committee starts deliberations only after the government formally submits the budget to the Diet. In the formulation of budget estimates for the next fiscal year, the Budget Committee requests that it be consulted during their compilation." This shaft was aimed less at the political party leaders in the cabinet than at the bureau chiefs, over whom neither the cabinet not the Diet exercises much

[38] *Yukan Miyako*, Aug. 24, 1947: "The Upper House opposes the original bill approved by the Lower House on the grounds that it tends to encourage bureaucratic despotism by affording ordinance power to establish or abolish government agencies. . . . The House of Representatives, which approved the bill unconditionally, is to blame for its carelessness. . . . Therefore, the sole solution is for the Lower House to frankly admit its fault and to accept the opinion of the Upper House. . . . Both Houses should unite against the cabinet and the bureaucracy." *Shin Yukan*, Sept. 2, 1947: "Another noteworthy point is the attack of the opposition parties led by the Liberal Party which caused the Lower House to yield. . . . The Lower House . . . planned to defy the Upper House and override the amendment by a two-thirds vote." The press generally lauded the House of Councillors for putting the cabinet on notice concerning that clause of Article 73 of the constitution which permits the issuance of cabinet orders only "in order to execute the provisions of this Constitution and of the law."

[39] House of Representatives, Minutes of the Budget Committee, Dec. 16, 1947. This statement grew out of the Socialist party executive committee's decision on December 8 "(1) To reform the existing system by breaking the Account Bureau's monopoly of budget deliberations, and (2) To superintend execution of the budget constantly by instituting a Financial Superintendence Committee centered around the National Diet." *Jiji* Press, Dec. 9, 1947.

control. What appear to be conflicts between the Diet and the cabinet are more likely to be contests between the political parties and the bureaucracy.

In a number of skirmishes between the politicians and the bureaucrats, the former have more than held their own. Proud of their position as high-ranking House officials, the newly elected standing committee chairmen concluded that they, like the top bureaucrats, were entitled to official automotive transportation. Accordingly, they served notice on the Transportation Ministry to supply Diet standing committees with forty-two vehicles.[40] The Ministry complied. The Diet library standing committees originated a technique for dealing with bureaucrats. Informed that the Finance Ministry was about to purchase the South Manchuria Railway Library, for which they were also negotiating, the two library committee chairmen threatened the Ministry with a joint resolution of the Houses. Under questioning, the bureaucrats confessed to committing "a technical error by ignoring the Diet, not knowing that Diet interests took precedence over those of the Finance Ministry." The officials were admonished concerning "the malicious and premeditated bureaucratic practice of disregarding the legislature."[41] The Diet obtained the book collection. Rooms in the Diet building for cabinet ministers, their delegates and parliamentary vice-ministers, for years reserved by government fiat, were vacated in the Councillors' wing upon instructions from the Steering Committee.[42] When the communications committee chairman rebuked a parliamentary vice-minister for "standing on ceremony," the latter said: "If some awkwardness has been apparent to date, it is attributable to our inexperience with the new Diet procedures."[43] In keeping with the accepted Japanese principle that the importance of an official's position can be measured by the elegance of his official residence, the Diet bought the luxurious home of a former Japanese prince for the speaker of the House of Representatives, and the palatial estate formerly occupied by a Korean prince for the president of the House of Councillors,[44] the latter

[40] Meeting of 21 standing committee chairmen, House of Representatives, with the speaker, June 30, 1947. The House of Councillors held a similar meeting a few days later. On July 24, the Transportation Ministry transferred to the Diet 18 foreign-made military vehicles and a number of sedans requisitioned from various ministries. The Ministry also agreed to furnish gasoline, while the Diet hired the chauffeurs. Previously no committee chairman had ever been furnished an official vehicle.

[41] Minutes, Joint Meeting of the Diet Library Committees, June 26, 1947.

[42] House of Councillors, Minutes of the Steering Committee, Sept. 27, 1947.

[43] House of Councillors, Minutes of the Communications Committee, Oct. 2, 1947.

[44] The Diet on Aug. 1, 1947, demanded that national property surrounding the capitol be taken over as building sites for the projected library, members' offices, members' apartments, standing committee office buildings, etc. By May, 1948, eight of these frame structures were nearing completion.

residence having been sought also by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

In their relations with the cabinet, Diet political parties have been guilty of some excesses. When the prime minister, under a provision of the Police Law, submitted the names of five public safety commissioners for Diet confirmation, the Representatives' Steering Committee rejected them all because the House had had no voice in their selection, and notified the prime minister that a new slate would be drawn up in accordance with the desires of the major political parties.[45] The prime minister stood up for his rights and won. When Prime Minister Katayama asked the House of Representatives to waive constitutional immunity and permit arrest of a Liberal party member charged with defrauding repatriated soldiers of several million yen, the House accepted the accused's resignation rather than set the precedent of forsaking a member upon the request of the executive .[46]

Conclusions. On the positive side of the ledger, the political factions in the National Diet have thus far demonstrated willingness and a certain capacity to exercise legislative powers authorized by the constitution and to experiment boldly with the new aids, devices, and procedures provided by the Diet Law. Government parties in the Diet have coöperated with their cabinet leaders in implementing policy agreements, at the same time jealously guarding the dignity of the legislature and distinguishing between cabinet and bureaucratic programs. Notwithstanding a rigid party discipline closely akin to feudalism, members have bolted all major parties in sufficient numbers to disturb the bosses, reflecting, at least in some cases, the force of public opinion and loyalty to principles more than to personalities. Eagerness of Government and Opposition members to return as often as possible to their native domiciles reveals, indeed, as is often charged, prudent consideration of the next general election, but also a wholesome regard for public opinion in their election districts.

The chief dangers to popular sovereignty lie in inherently weak coalition governments, lobbying, and rowdyism. The first of these dangers should be eliminated in the ordinary course of events; spasmodic party-jumping will continue until two or three major parties emerge with sets of principles to which most Diet members can subscribe. A single strong

[45] House of Representatives, Secretary General's notes on Interparty Conference Proceedings, Feb. 27, Mar. 1, 3, 1948.

[46] Proceedings of the House of Representatives, No. 11, Jan. 30, 1948. Taking the rostrum in the House to deliver his resignation speech, the accused said: "I am sorry to have caused you trouble . . . I cannot help believing that there is some politics connected with arresting me while the Diet is in session on the suspicion of fraud . . . not an uncommon crime and in my opinion not a serious one . . . I do not see any reason why a Diet member should have to be arrested on this suspicion. I willingly tender my resignation in deference to the position of the members of the Diet, protected by Art. 50 of the Constitution."

party could carry out its program with vigor and assurance, free from jealous, carping political partners and resigned only to the necessity of turning the reins of government over to the opposition when public support wanes. A more sinister threat to successful party government is lobbying, a practice closely related to the financing of political parties and election campaigns of individual members and to the too-common practice of bribery. Public financing of election campaigns, to which all parties are presently committed, combined with the higher salaries which Diet members now receive, should reduce the influence of the *zaibatsu* and the black-market nabobs over party bosses and rank-and-file members, but the baser aspects of lobbying will be stamped out only when an enraged public demands it. Rowdyism, or the spectacular phase of filibustering, places the institution of representative government in jeopardy and lends encouragement to those who favor bureaucratic totalitarianism. The major party leaders, who deliberately promoted one or the other of the two orgies of hoodlumism in the House of Representatives during 1947, could easily abolish this pernicious pastime.

INSTRUCTION AND RESEARCH

TOWARD INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: A REPORT ON THE UNESCO PROJECT, "METHODS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE"

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization[1]

UNESCO has frequently been criticized for not having devoted enough of its efforts and resources to the social sciences. To some extent, such criticism may appear justified (and not to social scientists alone), and it provides little comfort to know that UNESCO is, in this respect, by no means unique, but reflects orthodox patterns and attitudes in relation to the social sciences. However, its work in this field is hampered *ab initio* by two serious obstacles which do not prevail to the same degree in other scientific disciplines. In the first place, there is the lack of international associations of social scientists. UNESCO is not a university or research center which aims primarily at the advancement of the frontiers of human knowledge, but is, rather, a clearing house whose main purpose is to make available already existing knowledge for socially and internationally useful purposes. UNESCO can, and does, perform a significant function by planning projects which cannot be carried out by a single country, but depend on the working together of scientists from many parts of the world; such projects, desirable as they may be, cannot be easily realized in those areas of learning, however, in which, as in the social sciences, no —or no effective—international professional organizations exist. Much of the actual research and writing in an internationally planned enterprise has to be "farmed out" to individual institutions and persons in various countries, and the absence of representative international social science associations has constituted a serious obstacle to the implementation of UNESCO programs. The second basic difficulty peculiar to the social sciences is the lack of universally accepted agreement on their nature, contents, methods of research, and—of particular relevance to the problem of scientific communication—terminology. Diversity reigns here triumphant; whereas a reasonable dose of it may produce stimulation and intellectual adventure, excessive variety may reach a point where it can hardly be distinguished from disorder and chaos.

The Second General Conference of UNESCO (held at Mexico City, November 6–December 3, 1947) proposed an international comparative survey of political science, the first social science to be selected for a

[1] On leave, Princeton University, Feb. 1, 1948–Feb. 1, 1949.

stock-taking analysis. There were several reasons why political science was chosen for the pilot project. First, it was held that political science has a direct and important bearing on urgent national and international issues. Second, it was assumed that political science is marked by significant differences of development between various countries and regions of the world. Third, it was widely felt that political scientists are particularly subject to the danger—and not too infrequently the practice—of mixing non-scientific value judgments with scientific statements of fact. Fourth, there was ample evidence in the available work done by students of politics that disinterested research, free from bias and narrow group sentiment, is possible and has, in fact, already produced results worthy of being called "scientific." Finally, it was believed that political science (as distinct from political speculation) is relatively young among the social studies, and therefore comparatively fresh in outlook and open to new methods and ideas.

The purpose of the project, "Methods in Political Science," is, in the words of the Conference Resolutions (5.5.1), "to promote a study of the subject-matter and problems treated by political scientists of various countries in recent research materials (scientific publications and high level text-books), the various types of approach and emphasis, the methods, techniques, and terminology employed . . . in recent political science." Actual work started in February, 1948, and this writer has been assisted in the execution of the project by Dr. Max Salvadori (Italy) and Dr. Kazimierz Szczerba (Poland). It was realized from the beginning that the project could be carried into effect only with the coöperation of scholars in countries in which significant developments in political science had taken place. It would be materially impossible to take stock in Paris (or anywhere else) of the whole field of political science throughout the world, and such operational procedure, even if feasible, would not fit into the general UNESCO work-pattern of utilizing available knowledge whenever possible. About fifty scholars in over twenty countries are contributing (and in many cases have already contributed) papers and reports. In some instances, such papers cover the whole, or most, of the range of political studies in one country; the majority of the papers are limited to those specialized subjects with which the authors are most intimately familiar. The most representative contributions will be published in a symposium volume in French and English (the two official languages of UNESCO), and a Final Report will summarize and analyze the findings of the project.

In defining the nature of the papers to be written, the first issue of terminology arose, *viz.*, the meaning of "political science" for the purpose of the project. If any unity was to be accomplished, there had to be some tentative agreement on scope and contents. In the light of experience and practice, the following topical areas were considered germane to the study

of politics: political theory, including the history of political ideas; national (federal) and local government; constitutional and administrative law; public administration; political parties and public opinion; economic functions of government; comparative political institutions; international relations; international organization and administration; international law. In most countries, only a few of these subject-matter areas have formally developed or have been officially incorporated into university programs. Some writing and research, however, has been done, under different academic tags, by political scientists themselves or, as is more often the case, by lawyers, historians, economists, and sociologists (to mention but a few), simply because no political scientists *per se* as yet exist. It is clear that such incidental attention, producing fragmentary bits of political commentary, has not been favorable to the growth of a systematic and well organized body of knowledge and analysis.

Concerning the problem of method, the core of the project, contributors have been asked to consider some of the following specific queries: (1) What is now the value of traditional approaches, such as the juridical, historical, and philosophical? How far can they still be employed in political science, and in what particular fields most usefully? (2) In what respects has psychology (psychiatry, social psychology, psycho-analysis) influenced the study of the political process? (3) To what extent can the research methods and data supplied by sociology and anthropology be utilized for a more penetrating understanding of political phenomena? This question is based on the assumption, the validity of which bears on theoretical analysis as much as on practical policy, that the key to a political civilization, system, or institution lies in the non-political factors which give it life and meaning. (4) What are the specific materials of a scientific study of politics (personal observation; participation in political —governmental as well as non-governmental—bodies; documents, diaries, memoirs, etc.)? (5) For what kind of investigation is the quantitative method applicable (public opinion polls, election studies, etc.)? (6) To what extent is it possible to achieve qualitative measurement? It is relatively easy to compare political liberty in a country like England with that in an avowed dictatorship of the Right or Left; but it is considerably more difficult to measure political liberty where the contrast is not so obvious, as when comparing Britain with France or the United States. The crude division of political systems into democracies and dictatorships supplies no tools of analysis for comparing and measuring the degree of political liberty existing within the democratic or totalitarian countries. Similar problems of qualitative measurement arise in relation to the efficiency of individual institutions or of whole systems. In the field of international relations, the central problem of the strength of a nation is essentially a problem of qualitative judgment and measurement, as national power is more than the sum total of population, raw materials, and

other quantitative factors. The "alliance potential" of a nation, its civic devotion, the flexibility of its institutions, its technical "know-how," its capacity to endure privations—these are but a few qualitative elements that determine the total strength of a nation. (7) Finally, an aspect of method which may appear purely mechanical, yet substantially affects the quality of the ultimate product: the technique of "group research," coöperatively planned and executed research, as it has developed through private and public bodies in England and, more recently, the United States. In England, group studies of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Fabian Society, P.E.P. (Political and Economic Planning), might be mentioned illustratively, while the Social Science Research Council, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago are examples of coöperative research in the United States. In addition, there is the vast body of political research carried on by public bodies in England (royal commissions of inquiry, parliamentary select committees, departmental and inter-departmental committees) and in the United States (congressional investigations, executive committes, departmental research bureaus). In France, parliamentary and executive committees have also been engaged in collectively planned and executed political investigations, and the *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques*, aided by recently established regional institutes, has several major group projects under way which promise to mark an important departure from traditional research techniques. The universities, too, are gradually endeavoring to develop social science research along less individualistic lines than in the past, by fitting the individual research contribution into a larger whole in terms of community priorities or available resources, or both. The organization of social science research committees in major institutions of higher learning in Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Americas will strengthen the work in political science by freeing it from the burdens of isolation and prejudice inherent in "one-man" projects. As long as political study concerned itself mostly with general and speculative issues, the one-man approach might suffice. The more political analysis proceeds from the general to the individual, from the abstract to the concrete, from the speculative to the empirical, the more the inadequacy of the one-man approach becomes apparent.

The seven specific aspects of method listed in no way exhaust the range of research in political science or in any one particular subject-matter area. They are, rather, illustrative examples of the kind of difficulty which political scientists, working in varying environments, are likely to encounter. Contributors to the project, "Methods in Political Science," ordinarily concentrate on those aspects of research which are particularly germane to their own interests. Especially where political science does not exist as yet as a specialized scholarly activity, the awareness of basic research issues may help those who are now pioneering in the systematic

and scientific formulation of political problems. Substantive political phenomena vary enormously, depending on historical, cultural, and economic conditions which determine the character of a given social environment. By contrast, the range of variety with regard to methods of political research is relatively narrow. The communication, and even transmission, of research techniques is less complex than the artificial transplanting of social conditions which give rise to actual political facts and institutions.

Personal contacts in many countries with political scientists who collaborate on the project led to two impressions: first, that political science is marked by exceedingly different levels of development in various areas of the world. National and regional differences of attainment also apply to the other social studies and to the natural sciences. However, the systematic study of politics seems to be neglected even where other social sciences, such as economics, or allied disciplines, such as law and history, are recognized as legitimate branches of learning. This situation is typical not only of countries which are only beginning to organize higher studies of any kind, but of nations which can boast universities four and five hundred years old. The second broad conclusion which emerged from extensive contacts with scholars throughout the world was the generally expressed desire for institutional facilities of coöperation. The UNESCO project, "Methods in Political Science," with its nucleus of political scientists working together on a concrete job, seemed to provide a natural opportunity for exploring the possibilities of such coöperation.

On September 13–16, 1948, an international conference was held at UNESCO House in Paris in connection with the project. This first officially sponsored international gathering of political scientists was attended by the following: Raymond Aron, professeur agrégé à l'École Nationale d'Administration, Paris; Frede Castberg, professor of public and international law, University of Oslo; G. D. H. Cole, professor of social and political theory, Oxford University; John Goormaghtigh, director, Belgian Institute of International Relations, Brussels; Georges Langrod, professor of administrative law, University of Cracow; William A. Robson, professor of public administration, London School of Economics and Political Science; M. Rathnaswamy, vice-chancellor, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, Madras Province; and Walter Rice Sharp, professor of government, City College of New York. At the end of the Conference, the members issued a "Statement" which reads as follows:

A. THE AIMS AND METHODS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The large and expanding sphere of government activity in all countries, and the emotions and interests which are aroused by politics, make it highly desirable that both political ideas and political practice should receive disinterested study. It is the aim and purpose of political science to provide such study.

It is legitimate to believe that by this means the political insight and discrimina-

tion of the people may be increased, a more informed public opinion be brought to bear on political problems, and the work of government improved at all levels.

Political science has evolved, in modern times, within the frame-work of national communities. It is characterized, in every country, by distinctive historical traditions, educational organization, constitutional systems, social structures, and philosophical conceptions. To some extent, such diversity is justified. Every scholar takes his problems and guiding concepts from his own environment. He should, however, be aware of these distinctive elements if he is to avoid the double danger of isolation and prejudice.

The aim of international coöperation in this field is not to substitute a uniform treatment of the subject for the prevailing diversity of topics and methods. The juridical, historical, philosophical, sociological, psychological, and statistical methods have all been successfully used in the study of political ideas and institutions, and the topics chosen for attention have differed considerably from country to country. The aim of coöperation is to familiarize scholars with the development of political science in other countries so that they may enlarge the range of their knowledge and mutual understanding.

Students of politics combine fact-finding with value judgment and, from objective study, derive practical conclusions for the improved working of political institutions. They should, however, distinguish between the analysis of verifiable facts and the formulation of value judgments, and should not ignore the political and philosophical attitudes which influence their thought. Frequent contacts between political scientists of different countries would stimulate awareness of these factors. In addition, the diffusion of techniques of investigation would widen the field of inquiry to which strictly positive methods may be applied.

B. THE SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The following list of subject-matter does not claim to be complete or strictly logical in its classification; it was drawn up to indicate the most important fields of study and research comprised in political science.

I. POLITICAL THEORY

(1) Political theory
(2) History of political ideas

II. GOVERNMENT

(1) The constitution
(2) National government
(3) Regional and local government
(4) Public administration
(5) Economic and social functions of government
(6) Comparative political institutions

III. PARTIES, GROUPS, AND PUBLIC OPINION

(1) Political parties
(2) Groups and associations
(3) Citizen participation in government and administration
(4) Public opinion

IV. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(1) International politics
(2) International organization and administration
(3) International law

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

The separation and isolation of students of politics form serious obstacles to the dissemination of political knowledge and the development of improved methods and techniques of research. It therefore seems desirable to create an International Political Science Association in order to facilitate coöperation among political scientists throughout the world.

A Preparatory Committee (Professor Walter R. Sharp, chairman, Professor Raymond Aron, Professor William A. Robson, and Dr. J. Goormaghtigh, secretary) has been set up by this Conference for the purpose of preparing, with the aid of additional members to be co-opted at an early date, a draft constitution of the International Political Science Association to be submitted to an international meeting of representative political scientists which will be held as soon as circumstances permit.

It is proposed that, subject to available means and resources, the activities of the International Political Science Association shall include:

(1) The encouragement, in all countries, of improved techniques of political organization
(2) The exchange of information on significant developments in political research and study
(3) A center of primary documentation
(4) The publication of a research and information bulletin
(5) The establishment of an abstract service in political science organizations
(6) The translation of basic documents
(7) A microfilm service for the distribution of important source materials
(8) The organization of meetings and conferences on a geographical and functional basis
(9) The exchange of teachers and advanced students in coöperation with existing national and international agencies
(10) Assistance to political scientists in obtaining facilities for investigation outside of their own country
(11) The encouragment of internationally planned research projects.

At an early stage of the discussion on the aims and methods of political science, the view was expressed by at least one member of the Conference that, in the English language at any rate, the term "science" cannot be applied to the study of politics, and that a clear distinction ought to be drawn between subjects in which values are involved and subjects in which values are not involved. This position of political studies has been recognized at Oxford University, where they are included in the faculty of arts, and not in the faculty of science. Despite this argument, nearly all members of the Conference were in favor of retaining the term "political science," because the essential characteristics of science—inductively obtained and systematically organized knowledge—are not a monopoly of any branch of scholarship and can be successfully applied to the study of government and politics; the weight of usage and practice has also to be considered, since the term "political science" (*science politique, scienza politica, ciencia política, politische Wissenschaften,* etc.) has established itself for some time now in the world of learning. Concerning the problem

of method, there was general agreement, as is stressed in the first section of the "Statement," that the aim of international coöperation among political scientists should not be artificially induced uniformity of approach, but rather increased awareness of the existing variety of methods and techniques so that scholars "may enlarge the range of their knowledge and mutual understanding." Similarly, the members of the Conference expressed the view that terminological difficulties which beset diplomats, politicians, and scholars cannot be solved by the compilation of an international political dictionary or glossary, as was recently urged by George Bernard Shaw. What is needed is not so much the definition of words as the analysis of specific institutions, such as "parliament" in Britain as compared with that in France, or the administrative class in China as compared with that in India. The obvious differences between opposite political systems (such as democratic and dictatorial) have been elaborated again and again. What is even more useful, from the viewpoint of understanding basic terms, is a comparison of institutions and ideas between similar countries. Such analyses of the nature and working of political institutions in countries with closely related social systems and basic concepts could be planned and executed in the framework of regional or international projects.

The middle section of the "Statement," dealing with the scope of political science, is, like the other two sections, a result of compromise. The description of the contents of political science may prove particularly useful to countries that are actively preparing the organization of political studies in universities and other institutions of higher learning. The list of subject-matter areas is no more than a reflection of the existing situation in some countries, and its claim to be useful rests on nothing but the test of experience. From the viewpoint of logic or theoretical desirability, the list contains redundancies on the one hand and *lacunae* on the other. But it is hoped that such imperfections will be more than outbalanced by the pragmatic advantage of utility. There is no single country in the world in which the subject-matter listed has been fully dealt with, and each can profitably watch, and learn from, the experience, errors, and accomplishments of political science research elsewhere. Generally speaking, one of the conclusions emerging from the Conference was that two areas of political science have made particularly noteworthy progress in the last twenty or thirty years with regard to research methods and techniques: public administration and international relations.

The last section of the Conference "Statement" deals with the projected formation of an International Political Science Association. The members of the Conference felt that it would be too little to limit themselves to a mere declaration of faith concerning the desirability of such an Association, and too much and too premature to set it up at the conference itself.

As a result, the middle solution of setting up a Preparatory Committee was adopted. This Preparatory Committee will soon be enlarged through co-option of additional members, and it is hoped that the "Constituent Assembly" of the International Political Science Association may be held late in 1949 or early in 1950. As in so many other instances of international collaboration, one of the first results of the present effort will be the organization of national political science associations in countries where none as yet exist. The present half-dozen or so national political science organizations will soon be considerably increased as the foundations are being laid for the international association. New national groups in Great Britain and Belgium, to cite but two examples, are in process of formation, and regional associations, possibly in Scandinavia and Latin America, are in the stage of active consideration. Because of the lack of representative national bodies in so many countries, the formation of the International Political Science Association will depend on the good-will and coöperation of individual political scientists. Where effective national associations of political scientists are operating, especially in areas left relatively undamaged by war and destruction, the responsibility of participating in the common effort will be particularly great. If this pioneer project of surveying the problems of political science and organizing political scientists on an international scale shall succeed, the field will be wide open for similar endeavors. UNESCO itself cannot, and should not, set up international bodies, which, if they are to develop properly, must spring from the spontaneous desire and activity of social scientists themselves. But where such desire and activity exist, UNESCO will encourage and assist all forms of genuine international coöperation.[1]

THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

RUSSELL H. FIFIELD
University of Michigan

The rapid expansion of courses in international relations on the university level is causing an acute need for a consideration of the contents of the introductory course. More and more political scientists are required to teach international relations, and many of them are not at all certain about what material to cover or what approach to use. The relative new-

[1] Correspondence concerning the International Political Science Association should be addressed to Professor Walter R. Sharp, chairman, Preparatory Committee, International Political Science Association, 28 Woodland Avenue, Bronxville, N.Y., or to Dr. J. Goormaghtigh, secretary, Preparatory Committee, International Political Science Association, 31 rue Montoyer, Brussels, Belgium.

ness of courses in international relations and the lack of any standard criteria have created a situation perplexing to both teacher and student.

The field of international relations may be broken down into international law, international organization, and international politics.[1] The study of international politics is the basic, introductory course in the field. International politics is really a study of the primary factors that enter into the politics of nations as reflected in current international developments. International politics is a new academic discipline only in so far as it involves the selection of certain pertinent material largely from the social sciences and the application of these data to international developments. The study of international politics reflects the present tendency toward the consideration of social science as a whole and away from its artificial division into separate compartments.

The basic course in international relations draws primarily upon five subjects. Diplomatic history gives perspective to international politics and provides a depth of understanding to a subject that would otherwise appear shallow. Political geography contributes to an understanding of the political area and of the international implication of the geographic environment. Comparative government provides valuable material relating to the political framework under which governments operate and the inter-relationship between domestic and international politics. International economics opens an avenue to a greatly expanding and increasingly important phase of international politics. Social psychology provides scientific data on the group behavior of men and women.

Just as the specialist in international politics cannot be an authority on all of these related fields, neither can the diplomatic historian, the political geographer, the comparative government expert, the international economist, or the social psychologist be an authority on all the aspects of international politics. The task of the specialist in international politics is to select the aspects of the related fields that apply to modern world politics. He should have a basic knowledge of the methodology of political science or history and a general knowledge of the other disciplines.

The study of international politics is taking at least three different tangents in the United States. The first tangent is a course based almost solely on current events, frequently taken from the daily headlines of the local newspapers or from the latest radio newsflashes. In these courses, the notes of the students are often out-of-date within a few weeks after the beginning of the semester. A day-to-day description of the Palestine situation or of the Berlin crisis may be of interest to the student, but is of little lasting value toward an understanding of the principles *per se* of

[1] Professor Grayson Kirk's *Study of International Relations* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1947) is a *sine qua non* for all students in this field.

world politics. The teaching of international politics as a mere course in current events is at best a shallow procedure. On the other hand, complete oblivion to current events can be as serious a defect. The best solution seems to lie in the frequent illustration of basic principles from current events.

The second tangent in the teaching of international politics is an old offender. Some professors still teach international politics as international organization, despite the more progressive attitude of considering international organization as one of the three great subdivisions of international relations. In the 1920's, courses in international relations were usually courses on the League of Nations, while today some courses labeled international relations relate solely to the United Nations. In the interest of classification, a course should contain what it professes to offer.

The third tangent is to label diplomatic history international politics. Diplomatic history is really a study of the international politics of the past, and every student of international politics should have a general knowledge of it. At the same time, the study of the diplomatic history of Europe or the Far East since the First or Second World War is far more important to the student of international politics than a consideration of the diplomatic history of the French Revolution or of the Taiping Rebellion. The determination of a dividing line is difficult and arbitrary, but great events in modern history like the First and Second World Wars serve as guideposts. As already noted, the specialist in international politics values the work of the diplomatic historian as a specialist in a cognate field; but diplomatic history cannot take the place of international politics as now conceived.

The most valid controversy in the teaching of the introductory course in international politics centers around the issue as to whether a topical or a country approach should be used. For example, should the emphasis be placed on such topics as nationalism and imperialism or on the international rôle of the Soviet Union and the United States in world politics? The main criterion in making a decision should be this: Which approach contributes more toward a permanent understanding of the politics of nations? If the emphasis is placed on a topical approach and frequent illustrations are taken from current international developments, the student will gain insight both into the underlying principles of international politics and into the present international relations of the powers.

The selection of the basic factors that should be used in the introductory course is difficult, and every instructor would have his preferences as determined by his own background and personal evaluation. The following outline is offered only as a possible list of essentials, and no claim is made that it is definitive.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

I. The State System
   A. Origins and Development
   B. Present Distribution of States and Dependent Areas
   C. The Great Powers
   D. Operation of Power Politics
II. The Geographic Factor
   A. Aspects of the Political Area
      1. Significance of Location
      2. Boundaries in World Politics
   B. Geopolitics
III. The Human Factor
   A. Demography and World Politics
   B. Influence of Race and Religion
   C. Nationalism and National Psychologies
   D. Propaganda in International Politics
IV. The Economic Factor
   A. The Strategy of Raw Materials
      1. Uranium and the Control of Atomic Energy
      2. Petroleum and World Politics
   B. Economic Nationalism
   C. Economic Interdependence
      1. Basic Aspects
      2. Postwar Developments
V. Imperialism
   A. General Analysis
   B. Present World Empires
   C. Aspects of Liquidation
VI. War as an Institution
   A. Fundamental Causes
   B. Problem of Eradication
   C. Militarism and Armament
VII. International Politics and World Organization
   A. The Legal Framework—International Law
   B. The United Nations Organization in World Politics
   C. Regional Organizations: Western Union, Arab League, Pan American Union

An understanding of the state system is fundamental in a study of international politics. The origins and development of the state system give perspective to a consideration of the present distribution of states across the face of the globe. The rise of the Great Powers and their present reduction to two or three explain much of the international tension of today. The operation of power politics through alliances, intervention, compensation, buffer areas, and divide-and-rule techniques should be thoroughly analyzed. A comparison between power politics on the domestic level, as at a party convention, and on the international level, as in a meeting of the Security Council, should be made. The issue of the morality of power

politics in a world of states equal in sovereignty but unequal in power should be considered.

The geographic factor in international politics received considerable publicity as a result of the work of the geopoliticians and as a consequence of the momentous events of a global war. A number of professional geographers became specialists in foreign affairs and some international relations experts were diverted to geography. Since the end of the war, interest in geopolitics has declined in the United States and the geographic aspect of international relations has received less emphasis. Despite this tendency, consideration should still be given to the geographic aspects of the political area and to the ideas of certain of the geopoliticians.

In a study of the political area, the influence of such factors as location, shape, size, form, depth, climate, and topography should be noted. Boundaries are still an important factor in international politics, as is evidenced by the diplomatic fight over Venezia Giulia after the Second World War. An analysis of the types and functions of boundaries, along with a brief survey of the major boundary changes as a consequence of the Second World War, should be made. In the controversial field of geopolitics, no general agreement has yet been reached by American scholars as to the definition, scope, contents, and value of the subject. The student in international politics, however, should at least know the ideas of men like Ratzel, Kjellén, Mahan, Mackinder, Haushofer, and Spykman. Ideas that influence the political activity of men should be studied, even though they may not be valid by fixed standards or new frames of reference.

The human factor in international politics embraces a number of items relating primarily to man himself. Here a consideration is given to the demographic aspect of international politics. The distribution of world population, the problems arising from density, the significant trends in age and number, and the activities of government in the field of population are important factors affecting international politics. No Frenchman can forget the decline in the birth-rate of his country; no Russian can ignore the great increase in the birth-rate of the Soviet Union. Race is a factor in international politics that is more important in the minds of men than on the written pages of fact. The viewpoints of such fanatics on race as De Gobineau, Chamberlain, Stoddard, Grant, Rosenberg, and Hitler should be compared with the ideas of men of science whose viewpoints are founded on the cold logic of research. Nevertheless, Hitler's belief in the master race affected the course of history, and the international implications of race cannot be ignored. The influence of religion in world politics also merits the consideration of the student. The partition of India into Moslem Pakistan and Hindu India is a case in point. The use of religion as a

chauvinistic vehicle of the state, as in Japanese state Shintoism, can greatly affect the morale of the people of a country both in peace and war.

In the beginning course in international relations, considerable time should be devoted to the study of nationalism. Here the emphasis of the historian and the international relations specialist may vary; the former may be more concerned with the evolution of nationalism and the latter with an analysis of the factors making up nationalism. However, the origins, trends, and general nature of the subject should be known to the student of international politics. Especially significant is an analysis of the relationship between nationalism and world peace. Also germane are problems involving minorities inside the state and irredentism outside. Likewise the inculcation of nationalism as a cult of the national state should be considered. Closely related to this inculcation is the use of propaganda in world politics. The resclution of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1947 on warmongering testifies to the importance of propaganda in international relations.

The economic factor in the study of international politics is growing in importance as more specialists in the field become convinced that the economic needs of states rank near the top in explaining their political behavior. A division of the leading states of the world between "have" and "have-not" nations was popular in the 1930's. Today the two leading world powers belong to the "have" group, but the rivalry between them is as acrimonious as that existing between the "haves" and "have-nots" a decade ago. This observation does not, however, reduce the importance of a study of the strategy of raw materials in modern world relations.

The specialist in international politics will probably have only sufficient time to spend on one or two selected minerals that play a significant rôle in international affairs. One of these is uranium, the present mineral base of the atomic bomb. Here consideration can logically be given to the efforts and failure to control atomic energy on the international level. In fact, the most widely accepted plan, that of the United States, began with the international control of uranium in the mine. Another mineral that the specialist in international politics may desire to stress is petroleum. The politics of petroleum in the Near East is closely related to one of the crucial issues of 1948—the Palestine question. The interest of the powers in strategic and critical materials is certainly a factor in explaining international developments.

Economic nationalism, with its effects on international relations, and the use of dollars or rubles as a vehicle of foreign policy are important aspects of the economic factor in international politics. The Marshall Plan, or European Recovery Program, should not be ignored, as economic and political considerations on the international level entered into its planning and execution. At the same time, the economic interdependence of na-

tions and the myth of complete self-sufficiency on the national level, the efforts to broaden world trade and to stabilize currencies, the international aspects of investment, and the new economic organizations like the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Trade Organization should be considered. In the selection of economic topics for study in the introductory course in international relations, only those subjects directly affecting world politics should be chosen.

Imperialism is another topic meriting analysis and dissection by the specialist in international politics. The ramifications of imperialism in the present decade are evident in the struggle over the disposition of the Italian colonies in Africa, the fighting for independence in Indonesia and Viet Nam, and the proceedings of the meetings of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. A knowledge of the basic concepts and motivations of imperialism, together with a brief survey of the present empires of the world and of the efforts to modify or liquidate imperialism through mandates and trusteeships, is valuable. Imperialism may be out-of-date, but manifestations of it are very much in evidence.

A consideration of war as an institution ranks high among the topics in international politics. War as now conducted in an atomic age gravely threatens the future of the human race. Two world wars in less than half a century have affected all of mankind and have changed the course of history. The student of international politics should analyze the causes of war and consider the possibilities of eradication. The pyschology of militarism and the problems of disarmament should be studied. The destruction of war as an institution is a great challenge to scholars and statesmen alike. As UNESCO has so aptly stated, wars begin in the minds of men.

Turning from war to peace, the student of international politics should study the peace organization of the world within the framework of international politics. As already noted, international organization and international law *per se* constitute separate subjects inside the broad field of international relations. In the introductory course, only brief consideration should be given to international law; but even here the importance of world politics cannot be ignored. For instance, the Soviet Union does not appear to pay much attention to customary international law, asserting through its representatives that this type of international law is a product of Western and not Soviet ideology. A basic knowledge of the Charter of United Nations is necessary in the introductory course, but the stress should be placed on the operation of the United Nations within the framework of international politics. In fact, the debates of the Security Council are an excellent barometer of the political status of the world. Regional organizations like the Pan American Union, the Western Union, and the Arab League should be considered also, though the student in the intro-

ductory course is again primarily concerned with the functioning of these organizations in world politics.

The problem of bibliography is important in the introductory course in international relations. The student should become familiar with the basic texts and with the viewpoints of the authorities on the subject. Although most of the prewar texts are out-of-date, some are in process of revision and a number of new texts are promised. More important from a bibliographical viewpoint is the desirability of the preparation and distribution by the instructor of a list of publications written by outstanding authorities or prepared by government agencies on the leading topics of the course such as nationalism and imperialism. The student should also become familiar with the best periodicals, containing valuable articles relating to international politics, such as the publications of organizations like the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the American Foreign Policy Association, the World Peace Foundation, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Brookings Institution, and others. Finally, the student in international politics should acquire the habit of following current developments in reliable newspapers like the *New York Times*.

The introductory course in international relations should fulfill the needs of two classes of students: first, those who want to continue work in international organization and international law or in the international politics of a region like the Mediterranean or the Far East; and second, those who seek only a general understanding of the basic factors underlying the international politics of today. In these times, when the United States shares a heavy responsibility for world peace, the great interest of American university students in world politics speaks well for the future.

NEWS AND NOTES

PERSONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Compiled by the Managing Editor

The second edition of the *Directory* of the American Political Science Association is now in the final stages of production and copies will be delivered to subscribers in a short time. Persons desiring additional copies may send orders to the Secretary-Treasurer.

In the November elections, Professor Marshall E. Dimock was chosen a member of the state legislature of Vermont.

At the New Hampshire state Democratic convention held on October 2, Professor Dayton D. McKean, professor and department chairman at Dartmouth College, was elected state chairman for a period of two years.

Professor H. McD. Clokie, of the University of Manitoba, spent the year 1947–48 on sabbatical leave and during part of the time was visiting professor at Stanford University.

Professor Leonard D. White has resigned as chairman of the political science department at the University of Chicago, effective with the autumn quarter, in order to devote his time to research and writing. Professor C. Herman Pritchett has been appointed acting chairman.

Mr. James M. Mitchell, director of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada and lecturer in political science at the University of Chicago, has been made a member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.

On December 2 and 5, Professor Carl J. Friedrich, of Harvard University, delivered two lectures at Swarthmore College entitled, respectively, "Montesquieu, the Man and the Thinker" and "The Doctrine of the Separation of Powers."

During the current year, Professor Vincent M. Barnett, Jr., on leave from Williams College, is serving in Rome as Chief, Office of Program Review, U. S. Special Mission to Italy, Economic Coöperation Administration.

Professor Sven Henningsen, of the University of Copenhagen, is visiting professor in the Scandinavian Area Study Program at the University of Minnesota during 1948–49, and is offering a number of courses in the field of the social sciences.

In accordance with the wishes of the late Professor Cephas D. Allin, Mrs. Allin has made a bequest of three thousand dollars to the department of political science at the University of Minnesota, the income to be used for furthering research by younger members of the faculty or by promising students.

During the past summer, Professor Karl Loewenstein, of Amherst College, served with the Reorientation Program of the Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.) as expert consultant, and lectured extensively to various groups on the institutions and techniques of democracy.

Professor Clyde Eagleton, of New York University, served as a consultant to the Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations during the summer, and is now director of the University's newly created Graduate Program of Studies in United Nations and World Affairs.

Mr. George A. Warp, recently a staff member in the Division of Civil Information and Education, General Headquarters, Tokyo, and Dr. Alfred de Grazia, who received his doctorate last summer at the University of Chicago, have been appointed assistant professors at the University of Minnesota.

Professor Evron M. Kirkpatrick has resigned his position at the University of Minnesota in order to continue work in which he is now engaged in the U. S. Department of State.

Professor Charles E. Martin, of the University of Washington, is in Japan as a member of a War Department commission to study the teaching of social science in that country. He will return to his duties in Seattle in January.

During the summer of 1948, Professor L. Larry Leonard, of Pennsylvania State College, was employed by the United Nations Secretariat for a study of the problems of under-developed countries and efforts at industrialization.

At Pennsylvania State College, Drs. M. Nelson McGeary and R. Wallace Brewster have been promoted to full professorships. Professor McGeary is serving as head of the political science department.

Professor Rinehart J. Swenson, of New York University, is on sabbatical leave and Professor Ray Harvey is acting as head of the department of political science.

The emergency Westchester Center having been closed, Professor Morley Ayearst has returned from his position as director of this Center to the department of government at New York University.

At Western Maryland College, Dr. Frank Hurt has been advanced to an associate professorship of history and political science.

At the University of Maryland, Dr. Elwyn Mauck, director of the Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau, is teaching part time in the department of political science.

Professor Joseph M. Ray, of the University of Maryland, was elected in September to the executive secretaryship of the newly revived Maryland League of Municipalities, with headquarters in conjunction with the University's Bureau of Public Administration.

Mr. Raymond W. Foery, who has been connected with the Veterans' Contact Office at the University of Pennsylvania, has resumed full-time teaching in the political science department.

Messrs. Frank Grace, of the University of Illinois, and George A. Peek, Jr., of the University of Virginia, have been appointed instructors at the University of Michigan.

After a period of service in the office of the governor of Arkansas, Dr. Daniel R. Grant has assumed an assistant professorship at Vanderbilt University.

At Pennsylvania State College, Drs. Neal Riemer and Ruth C. Silva and Mr. Lowell G. Noonan have been added to the staff in political science.

Mr. Arnold J. Kuhn has been appointed to an assistant professorship at DePauw University and is giving courses in international law and relations and American diplomacy.

Dr. Barrington Moore, recently at the University of Chicago, is now associated at Harvard University with both the Russian Research Center and the department of social relations and is completing a book on the impact of Marxist doctrine on Soviet politics.

Professor Robert Horn, of the University of Chicago, was a member of the faculty of the Salzburg Summer School of 1948, and subsequently visited Paris and London.

Dr. Don K. Price, associate director of Public Administration Clearing House and lecturer in political science at the University of Chicago, has been appointed a member of the Problems and Policy Committee of the Social Science Research Council.

Starting with the spring term, Mr. Ellsworth Raymond will give courses at New York University relating to the Soviet Union.

Mr. George I. Blanksten returned to Northwestern University in September, after a six-month leave of absence in Ecuador. Under the auspices of the U. S. Department of State, he conducted investigations of the government and politics of that South American Republic.

At Northwestern University, the new chairman of the department of political science is Professor Rollin B. Posey, formerly dean of University College at Northwestern's Chicago campus. Additions to the staff this year included Associate Professor Roland Young, formerly of Carleton College, and Mr. Kenneth W. Thompson, formerly of the University of Chicago.

Political scientists included in the recently established Regional Loyalty Board of the Seventh U. S. Civil Service Region (Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) are Dr. Walter F. Dodd of Chicago (chairman), and Professors Leonard D. White, of the University of Chicago, Rollin B. Posey, of Northwestern University, and Frederic A. Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin.

Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minneapolis, elected to the United States Senate on November 2, formerly taught political science at Louisiana State University and in 1933–34 headed the political science department at Macalester College, St. Paul. Another Minnesota political scientist won a legislative seat at the same time—Professor William P. Tucker, who succeeded Mr. Humphrey at Macalester, and who now represents a St. Paul district in the state legislature.

Professor Donald G. Bishop, of Syracuse University, has resumed his teaching duties in the field of international relations after nine months of special research at the London School of Economics, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and Oxford University. While overseas, Pro-

fessor Bishop also travelled extensively in the British Isles, the Low Countries, Germany, and Scandinavia.

Last summer, Professor Arnold Brecht, of the Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, worked for fifteen weeks as a consultant with OMGUS in Germany on problems of federalism, democratization, and civil service reform. He also took part in the International Holiday Courses at the University of Munich.

The Gaspar G. Bacon lectures on the Constitution of the United States, delivered at Boston University November 8–10 by Dean Owen J. Roberts, of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, dealt with "The Blueprint and Its Revisions," "Departures from the Blueprint," and "The Present Edifice and Its Future Growth."

Professor Erich Hula is serving this year as dean of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research; Professor John H. Ferguson, on leave from Pennsylvania State College, has been appointed dean of the School of Politics and member of the Graduate Faculty; and Professor Hans Simons, former dean of the School of Politics, has been granted another year of leave to continue his present work as chief of Government Structures Branch, Civil Administration Division, OMGUS.

Professor Émile Benoit-Smullyan has left the Associated Colleges of Upper New York to accept a post as economic analyst with the United Kingdom Mission of the Economic Coöperation Administration.

At the University of Michigan, Professor James K. Pollock is on sabbatical leave during the first semester of the current year in order to devote full time to his duties in Washington as a member of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Professor Harold M. Dorr is serving as acting chairman of the political science department during Professor Pollock's absence.

Professor Henry Janzen, of Pennsylvania State College, has been awarded a Senior Fellowship in Slavic Studies by the Hoover Institute of Stanford University. During March, Professor Janzen delivered two lectures at Harvard University—the first, on "The Paradox of Totalitarian Democracy," before a seminar of students and staff members of the Regional Program on the Soviet Union; the second, on "Doctrinal Constants and Variables," before the research seminar of the Russian Research Center.

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Professor Robert R. Wilson, of Duke University, returned to the United States in September after a tour of duty with the Department of State during the summer, in the course of which he was detailed to the American Embassy at Manila for approximately six weeks and to the American Embassy at Canberra for about five weeks. Professor Wilson was Adviser on Commercial Treaties in 1944–46, and has subsequently been a consultant in the Department of State. He is on leave from the University during the first semester of the present year, and is engaged in writing and research.

In late August, Professor Harold M. Dorr, of the University of Michigan, participated in adult education conferences on contemporary trends in literature, arts, business, and politics held in four cities of the Upper Peninsula under the auspices of the University of Michigan Extension Service.

Following a leave of absence to permit him to serve last winter and spring as Associate Historian, Civil Affairs Division, Office of the Chief of Staff, U. S. Army, Professor Henry N. Williams returned to his regular duties at Vanderbilt University at the beginning of the fall term.

During the current academic year, Professor Leland M. Goodrich, on leave from Brown University, is visiting professor of international organization and administration in the School of International Affairs at Columbia University. His work at Brown is temporarily in charge of Professor Arthur P. Daggett, of Bowdoin College.

The Argentine Academy of Law and Social Sciences, a non-official organization including the country's leading social scientists, has given Professor Segundo V. Linares Quintana's *Gobierno y Administracion de la Republica Argentina* an award designating it as the best work published in Argentina in the social sciences during the years 1945 and 1946. The volume was reviewed by Professor Austin F. Macdonald in the December, 1947, issue of this journal.

At Indiana University, Professor Edward H. Beuhrig has been granted leave of absence to permit him to be in residence at the Institute for Advanced Study during the fall semester, and Miss Martha Jane Reel has succeeded Miss Grace Thomson as an instructor, Miss Thomson having resigned to accept a fellowship at Radcliffe College.

Mr. Harold L. Enarson, of the Estimates Division, U. S. Bureau of the Budget, has been appointed to an assistant professorship at Whittier

College. Mr. Enarson will assume his duties at the beginning of the spring term, and will conduct courses principally in the field of public administration.

Professor William Hays Simpson, of Duke University, is on sabbatical leave during the first semester of 1948–49 for the purpose of making a study of workmen's compensation in South Carolina. Professor Simpson's study, *Southern Textile Communities*, has recently been published by the Dowd Press, Charlotte, N. C.

At Boston University, Professor T. Noel Stern has been named chairman of an interdepartmental graduate seminar in "Labor Programs and Ideologies," sponsored by the departments of economics, sociology, and government. The central topic of research papers during the current term is "Labor in the 1948 Election."

The University of Chicago announces the appointment of Dr. Leo Strauss, of the New School for Social Research, as professor of political theory. Professor Strauss will take up his work in the spring quarter, 1949. Announcement is made also of the appointment of Mr. Phillips Talbot, associate director of the Crane Foundation and for several years representative of that Foundation in India, as assistant professor of political science.

During the summer of 1948, Professor Roger H. Wells, of Bryn Mawr College, spent three and one-half months in Germany as visiting expert of the Civil Administration Division, Office of Military Government for Germany (US). Dr. Wells was previously (1945–47) branch chief and deputy director of this division.

At Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois, interest in the study of world problems has resulted in the opening of a School of International Studies, starting this past fall under the direction of Dr. Alexander Baird. The new school is designed to coördinate all courses of international significance and to combine a broad political, economic, and historical background with technical courses needed by executives dealing with problems of an international nature.

At the University of Tennessee, Dr. René Williamson has been promoted to a full professorship; Mr. Robert C. DaCosta, Jr., has been appointed assistant professor and will be responsible for developing training programs for public officials in the state; Mr. William Stout has been appointed instructor; Messrs. Thomas Payne and Arthur Bruce Winter

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and Miss Charlotte Winans have been appointed instructors and research associates in the Bureau of Public Administration; and Mrs. Virginia Holmes Brown has returned to the Bureau for research and editorial work.

At the University of Pennsylvania, four men received their doctorates at the summer convocation: E. Grant Meade, who has taken a commission in the United States Navy as public relations officer; Alfred H. Cope, who has been appointed assistant professor in the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University; Kalman H. Silvert, who has accepted an assistant professorship at Tulane University; and Richard B. Johnson, who has joined the political science staff at Tufts College.

Political scientists of the Chicago area met at Roosevelt College on October 20, 1948, to hear Dr. W. Brooke Graves, of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, on "Occupational Hazards in Government Employment." Faculty members of the Illinois Institute of Technology, the University of Illinois (Navy Pier Branch), Northwestern University, and Roosevelt College attended, and a series of future meetings was planned. Dr. Graves also lectured at Roosevelt College on "Some Problems of Federalism."

During the past summer, Professor B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch, dean of the Faculty of Law and Political Science in the French University (École Libre des Hautes Études) of New York, was reappointed professor in the Institute of Advanced International Studies and co-director of the Section of Public Law of the Institute of Comparative Law at the University of Paris. Jointly with Professor Marcel Prélot, of the University of Paris, he also was designated editor of a new *Bibliothèque de la Science Politique*, to be published by the Presses Universitaires de France. This collection is planned to comprise eight volumes a year and to include both French and foreign works.

In March, 1947, General Clay approved an application of the minister-presidents of Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden, and Hesse and the president of the Senate of Bremen to establish a common agency for peace questions for the Länder of the U. S. Zone; and a "German Office for Peace Questions" (*Deutsches Buero für Friedensfragen*) was created during the following month. In accordance with a decision of the minister-presidents, it is the task of this office to collect material on all questions concerning a German peace treaty and have them ready in case of future negotiations with the victorious powers. The office is under the supervision of an administrative committee appointed by the minister-presidents, and State Secretary for Württemberg-Baden, Dr. Fritz Eberhard is director, with headquarters in Stuttgart.

The inter-university project to prepare case studies in public administration, shared in by Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, and Syracuse Universities and financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, has produced its first case—an 86-page analysis of the disposal of government-built aluminum plants since the war; and this initial study is being tested at the four universities. The histories are being prepared in Washington by a three-man staff headed by Mr. Harold Stein, former deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, and production is expected to average about three cases a month over a three-year period. Representatives of the coöperating universities in the work are Professors Wallace S. Sayre of Cornell, Merle Fainsod of Harvard, Donald H. Wallace of Princeton, and Dean Paul H. Appleby of Syracuse.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has announced a grant of $130,000 to the Social Science Research Council in support of a program of fellowships and travel grants for research in world areas, and with this aid the Council will continue its national fellowship program set up last year to assist students, teachers, and research workers in field work abroad. The Corporation has announced also a grant of $10,000 to the University of Minnesota to assist in a program of interdisciplinary research undertaken by the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a substantial grant to Cornell University for a comprehensive study of governmental controls of subversive activities in relation to their impact on civil liberty. Professor Robert E. Cushman is director of the project, and associated with him are Miss Eleanor Bontecou, formerly of the Department of Justice and of the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department; Professor Robert K. Carr, of Dartmouth College, formerly executive secretary of the President's Committee on Civil Rights; and Professor Walter Gellhorn, of Columbia University.

At the American University School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs, Dr. William L. Reno has been made a full professor of political science; Harold H. Roth has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of public administration; John B. Olverson has been appointed assistant professor of political science, Lowell H. Hattery, assistant professor of political science and director of field studies, and George P. Bush, assistant professor of public administration; and Walter G. Held has been appointed teaching fellow in public administration. In the departments of public administration and political science, Donald P. Brown has been appointed assistant professor of political science.

Financed by private funds, and directed by Dr. Coleman Woodbury, formerly visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin and assistant administrator of the National Housing Agency, a thirty-month Urban

Redevelopment Study has lately been launched, with headquarters at 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago. The study will include investigation not only of programs aimed specifically at eradicating physical decay in cities, but also of "ways of assuring a favorable environment for a vigorous and healthful civic, economic, and social life for all urban dwellers—now and in the future."

The departments of history and political science and public administration at Michigan State College, in conjunction with numerous state and local government research and civic organizations, sponsored their third consecutive Summer Workshop in State and Local Government, July 6–23. The average daily attendance was eighty-five. Much of the success of the program was to be credited to the interest and efforts of State Treasurer D. Hale Brake, who secured the services of state and county officials as panel members, and of Mr. John Huss, director of the Michigan Municipal League and his colleague Professor John W. Lederle, who secured the services of city officials. Panel chairmen included Professors Arthur W. Bromage and Harold M. Dorr, of the University of Michigan; Professor Maurice Ramsay, of Wayne University; Professor D. C. Shilling, of Western Michigan College; and Professors William Combs, Leroy Ferguson, J. Oliver Hall, and James W. Miller, of Michigan State College. The director of the 1948 Summer Workshop was Professor James W. Miller.

Aided by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, the Social Sciences Division and the Graduate Library School at the University of Chicago are jointly undertaking a study of the desirability and feasibility of setting up a unified reporting system for the social sciences. Opinions of social scientists, teachers, students, librarians, public officials, interest-group leaders, and other potential users are being collected with regard to the relative advantages of a yearbook, a journal consisting largely of bibliographical essays, a journal containing abstracts, and other means of publication. The study is being conducted by Bruce Lannes Smith, political scientist, aided by an advisory committee.

The board of directors of the International Institute of Political and Constitutional History recently met for the first time in Paris since the war. After hearing the report of Professor Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, executive vice-president, the Board decided to hold the first postwar plenary session of the Institute in 1949 at the Sorbonne. The agenda will include (1) the concept of "political party"; and (2) the evolution of parliamentary régimes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Institute expects to be able to resume publication of its scientific monographs dealing with various problems of political science and of its official

organ, *Revue d'Histoire Politique et Constitutionnelle*. Until its next session, the Institute will be directed by an administrative commission composed of the president, Julliot de la Morandière, dean of the Faculty of Law of Paris; the vice-president, B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch, dean of the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the École Libre des Hautes Études of New York, and the secretary-general, Henri de Montfort, secretary-general of the Institut de France. American members of the Board of Directors are Professors Robert E. Cushman, Robert M. MacIver, John U. Nef, Cecil Driver, Pitman B. Potter, and Frederic A. Ogg.

At the American University, the Third Washington Semester Group has been organized in the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs. The program, begun in 1947 as a spring semester program only, with six participating institutions, has been expanded this year to both fall and spring semesters, with six institutions added. The group for the 1948 fall semester consists of twenty-two honor junior or senior students from Birmingham-Southern College, Dickinson College, Hamline University, Lindenwood College, Transylvania College, and Westminster College at Fulton, Missouri. Washington Semester students study public problems which lend themselves especially to research in the nation's capital. The program is under the supervision and guidance of the faculty of the American University, with the aid of a visiting professor from one of the coöperating institutions. Dean Alice E. Gipson, of Lindenwood College, is the visiting professor for the current semester. In order to provide the best possible guidance to the Washington Semester program and to evaluate its contribution to the training of more intelligent national citizens, an advisory committee has been formed consisting of seven American University representatives and an equal number of persons from the community. Members representing the community are A. J. Brumbaugh, vice-chairman of the American Council on Education; Henry P. Chandler, director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts; Ewan Clague, commissioner of labor statistics in the Labor Department; Ernest S. Griffith, assistant librarian for Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress; Claude E. Hawley, chief of social sciences of the Office of Education; C. B. Upham, deputy controller of the currency; and M. L. Wilson, director of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. Committee members from the American University are President Paul F. Douglass; Ernest Posner, director of the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs; Pitman B. Potter, dean of the Graduate School; Austin Van der Slice, dean of the Undergraduate School; Catheryn Seckler-Hudson, chairman of the departments of public administration and political science; Harold E. Davis, chairman of the Washington Semester Inter-Institutional Committee; Visiting Professor Alice E. Gipson; and Lowell H. Hattery, program coördinator.

Charles A. Beard. When the program committee of the American Political Science Association asked Charles A. Beard to address the 1947 annual meeting, it had no prescience of his death in the following September a few months short of his seventy-fourth birthday. His friends had long discounted his inveterate whimsical allusions to age and withdrawal while the products of his pen continued to pour without slackening from his home above the Housatonic or from the North Carolina inn that was his winter working place. There was no lack of industry and vigor in the large volume that came from the press early in the new year. To be sure, he had written a few days before the Christmas week meeting: "On my seventy-third birthday, I was sick again and in dread of pneumonia once more, but Providence and sulpha pulled me through. I hope for ten days more of health, so I can make good the promise of my heart to you." Eight months later, on September 1, he died of anaemia, in harness almost to the end. The equivalent of many lifetimes of work lay behind him. Only the coming years will fully reveal how fructifying is the germinal influence of his thinking. The waves set in motion by a personality that was at once imperial and singularly lovable may be unrecognized, but they will not die nor find a final shore in the generations that succeed those who knew Charles Beard first-hand as master artist and fellow-craftsman in the social studies.

Beard's early home environment in Indiana helped to galvanize his political interest by discussions that, as he once expressed it, recalled enough of the momentous decisions of the middle period of our history to leave with him a sense of the high constitutional statecraft that is fraught with life and death. His father's sympathy and comfortable means as farmer, farm-owner, builder, and part-time banker enabled Beard to have a fling at running a small country newspaper even before he went to college. After his graduation from De Pauw University in 1898, he spent a year at Oxford. It was doubly revealing of Beard that his chief instructor and friend, F. York Powell, who had succeeded Froude as Regius professor of modern history in 1894, found Beard both indefeasibly American and also "the nicest American I ever met," as Powell wrote later. Beard's verve as well as his interests were illustrated in the fact that, only a year out of college and a stranger to England and Oxford, he was instrumental, in company with an American fellow-student and with financial aid from a third person in the United States, in launching Ruskin College as a place where students sent by labor unions could study in the atmosphere of the ancient academic center. This modest event in 1899 was significant enough to warrant an historian of workers' education in calling it the most important step since 1854 when F. D. Maurice founded the London Workingmen's College and enlisted John Ruskin as a teacher. The plaque at the entrance of Ruskin College bears Beard's name as a founder. And the name Ruskin in the title is a clue to standards that the youthful Beard

brought to bear upon industrial society at the turn of the century. His forgotten first book, *The Industrial Revolution*, first published in England in 1901 to sell for a shilling as an aid in adult education, and repeatedly reprinted, was at once a protest against the shabbiness, waste, and cruelty that had accompanied the new technology and a call for confidence in man's ability to shape the means of abundance to wholesome ends.

After a year at Cornell University and his marriage to Mary Ritter, De Pauw classmate, Beard went abroad again for two years of study, travel, and some extension lecturing. His formal work for the doctorate was resumed as Curtis Fellow at Columbia University from 1902 to 1904, when he studied with Burgess, Goodnow, Monroe Smith, and John Bassett Moore. Beard's own teaching began in 1905 as a lecturer in history, and his early writing was in this field in collaboration with James Harvey Robinson. Incidentally, it is said that Beard's seniors among Columbia historians acknowledged his influence in quickening their concern with social history, a fact to be added to the open story of his major rôle in American historiography from the time of the sharp impact of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* in 1913 through the broadening synthesis of his treatments of civilization in the United States.

Meanwhile Beard himself was attracted to the project of a realistic and moving treatment of the modern state. In 1907, advanced to the rank of adjunct professor, he launched within the frame of the graduate department of public law what was virtually an autonomous department with a strong undergraduate following. This was the matrix of *American Government and Politics*, published in 1910. It is needless to speak of this book's consolidating influence in the movement of the time toward descriptive American government as a basic course. Almost as quickly, Beard's constructive rôle in the rising subject of administration was signalized by his contact with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (now the Institute of Public Administration), especially in the establishment in 1911 of the Bureau's pioneer training school for the public service. In the closing period of Beard's service at Columbia, along with constitutional history, parties, and municipal functions, the theme that increasingly engrossed him was a course on what he called the principles of politics. Political science, he was saying in these years, had become unduly concerned "with minutiae, not great causes and ideas." This did not mean, however, that fruitful theory could come from disembodied classifications.

The year 1917 found Beard a strong advocate of armed intervention by the United States against Germany. The zeal of his own position fortified him in the belief that he should resign from Columbia as a protest particularly against the dismissal of two faculty members opposed to the war. This action has not been without weight in the cause of academic

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freedom. It would be unprofitable here to narrate the misunderstandings without which his resignation would probably have been avoidable. Beard quit Columbia to become, as it were, a lifetime *ex officio* member of many faculties while he remained a palpable presence in the group he had left. For several years, he directed and gave courses at the Bureau of Municipal Research as well as lectures at the New School for Social Research. His varied assignments in the twenties included the founding of a bureau of municipal research in Tokyo, where he was also recalled to help in the aftermath of the earthquake. In the thirties, among other tasks of coöperative planning in the field of education, he drafted book-length reports for the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association and for the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association—the first on "the nature of social sciences in relation to the objectives of instruction" and the second on "the unique function of education in democracy." At various times Beard gave lecture series that made him a protracted visitor on a number of campuses. He spent a very busy teaching year at Johns Hopkins and another year as a member of the faculty of political science at Columbia, from which he later accepted the honorary degree by which the university honored itself as much as the recipient. Professor V. O. Key, when introducing Beard at what was to prove his last appearance among political scientists, did not exaggerate the availability of the self-styled Connecticut Farmer and the assistance he had rendered uncounted individual scholars. Such were some of the links to those who teach which Beard delighted to cherish while he pursued his unceasing and amazingly productive writing career. The familiarity of his works makes unnecessary the catalogue which their sheer number would make impracticable.

The American Political Science Association was always close to Beard's interest. As its president in 1926, he was instrumental in creating the Committee on Policy, and he served as its first chairman. His presidential address on "Time, Technology, and the Creative Spirit in Political Science" sounded notes that mingled in the rich chord—a chord not without elements of dissonance—that marked his work as a whole. One note rang the challenge of time, change, and the constantly becoming future. A second note spoke deeply of vast movements such as "the convulsive pressures of technology pouring through time." The third high note was the possibility and moral responsibility of creative decisions; the older Beard seemed to fear increasingly that they might be tragically wrong. It was not a simple chord, nor was his nature simple. But as his magnificent life is grasped afresh and henceforth as a whole, his readers will hear what was always the dominant timbre of his teaching, amid the alternating moods that were part of his fascination: clarion and confident affirmation.—ARTHUR W. MACMAHON.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The American Democracy; A Commentary and an Interpretation. By Harold J. Laski. (New York: The Viking Press. 1948. Pp. x, 785. $6.50.)

This is a study of America in terms of the learned professor's experiences, observations, and reflections. The book includes a hundred pages on American political institutions, over one hundred pages on religion and education, a discussion of business and of labor, with agriculture relegated to "Minority Problems." American culture is broadly considered, and the American press, radio, and cinema are treated in another hundred pages. "Minorities" and "America as a World Power" are analyzed. American tradition, philosophy, and "Americanism as a Principle of Civilization" are reviewed.

Much of the volume deals with criticism of American institutions. The writer's special target is American business. Professor Laski sees red when he sees a business man, paradoxically. This chapter might well have preceded all the others, because the point of view coloring the whole work is that the end of the system of private enterprise is inevitable and desirable. Business, he holds, is a religion and religion indeed is a business (p. 170). Labor leaders are ineffective largely because they are not ready or preparing for the "third great revolution." Education and the professions are in a large way a branch of business. The American educational system is largely a mess because "there cannot be a new education without a new society to sustain it" (p. 392). For this, our way of life must be changed as well as the curriculum. An extended chapter deals with the press, the cinema, and the radio in America, which he condemns with right good will—distributing his dislikes equally among the three agencies. It does not appear that he was familiar with *A Free and Responsible Press* issued by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, of which Chancellor Hutchins was chairman. "America as a World Power" is the most sophisticated of the chapters.

Obviously, in so large an undertaking there must be various omissions. But some of these are so startling as to require notice. Professor Laski's knowledge of cities and local government limps badly. For example, he discovers that the city manager plan has little real value: "a pill to cure an earthquake" (p. 162). Interest in the plan dies away rapidly, declares Professor Laski. But in fact there has been increasing interest recently, indicated by the adoption of the manager plan in 150 cities in the last two years. There are now sixteen million (840 cities) living under city manager government. American planning agencies and efforts are given little treatment, although there are 2,000 such boards— local, state, and national. Likewise the omission of reference to developments in the field

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of conservation is of no little significance. Agriculture, as indicated above, falls under the general head of "minority" groups. There is no reference to the outstanding activities of women in the American political arena with the exception of the W. C. T. U. (p. 157). Omitting Jane Addams in a volume of some 700-odd pages is a little startling, as in general the rôle of American women in politics, industry, education, and culture.

Social science, with its far-flung activities, is likewise omitted from consideration, while political science in the narrower field is *blotto*. There is no longer, we are told, any real political philosophy in the American democracy. The alleged reason is that political philosophers have "sought to be above the battle" (*sic*) (p. 441).

It is of course impossible to list here the writer's judgments regarding particular problems and personalities. However, Professor Laski's characterization of Theodore Roosevelt as an "adolescent" (p. 712), "a weak man" (p. 734) who shouted to conceal his doubts may be challenged. One may raise the question, what would TR have said about Laski? President Franklin D. Roosevelt fares better, but on the whole it seems to Laski that the President had no sound philosophy and was totally unprepared for adequate change in our social and economic life. That he believed the pathology of American life was occasioned "by the malpractices of evil men" (p. 754) is a broad and untenable statement. Beyond this, Professor Laski makes an interesting comparison between Roosevelt and Lenin (and his successors), to the great advantage of the latter (pp. 758–59).

On the whole, this volume presents Professor Laski in a new and somewhat different rôle. His facts and figures are no longer up to date in many cases and wide gaps are left, as just indicated. The new Laski seems to be a timid, negative man, dogmatic as his language may appear on various pages. The old-time Marxian denounced business enterprise, but he now finds that "rather simple Marxian formulae" (p. 283) are inadequate since the issues go deeper. And again curiously enough, speaking of American business, he says: "If life consisted only in economic relations, it would be difficult to find a society in which there was so full an attempt to realize their full implications" (p. 170).

In his early years, Professor Laski was filled with a spirit of revolution, finding in old Marxian fashion that basic social change cannot be made without violence. Now all this is moderated to a general charge that Americans are not sufficiently alert to the need of basic change.

An astonishing feature of this volume is that the writer seems to write minus after almost every present aspect of American life, yet the minuses add up to a great plus. For America, he iterates and reiterates, is by all odds the most powerful nation in the world. What are the factors on which this status now rests? How can many minuses make plus except by multiplication, and in that case what are the multipliers which transformed America from tribal Indian hunting grounds to its present-day

strength? At this point, Laski's volume lacks both insight and clarity. At times he indicates what some of these factors are, but they are not in the foreground of his intellectual presentation.

In his conclusion, Mr. Laski finds that what America needs is the "ability to conquer both inertia and fear" (p. 761). Many of us who have studied American politics and philosophy would find this analysis very inadequate.

An outstanding quality of America, Mr. Laski discovers, is "kindliness"; so in a kindly American spirit we may say, come again and try again, Professor Laski. We will do our best to help you with the patterns, the meaning, the faith, and the constructive program of emerging American Democracy. A new and startling world is in the making, challenging the united efforts of all who hope to redeem the promise of true democracy.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM.

University of Chicago.

Jefferson the Virginian (*Jefferson and His Time*, Vol. I). By DUMAS MALONE. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. xx, 484. $6.00.)

During the last, or Ph.D., generation of American historiography, there have been many excellent biographies of our lesser statesmen. There have also been some highly distinguished biographies of statesmen of the first rank, most of those works being by men like Beveridge, Freeman, and Sandburg whose doctorates were honorary. The biographies of the great figures of our classic age have been brief or specialized studies, or they have been written for quick sales—the gone-with-the-month-club books. With the exception of Franklin, none of the Founding Fathers has been the subject of an even moderately satisfactory study. This big gap in historical writing will be filled in considerable part by biographies of Washington, Madison, and Jefferson which are now being written, two of them by journalists. They will not be definitive works, for that term can hardly be applied to the study of a great and complex figure, particularly one whose life and writings have fresh meanings for each generation. But they promise to be books worthy of their great subjects.

Professor Malone, formerly editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, plans a four-volume life of Jefferson, of which the present volume is the first. It covers almost half of Jefferson's long life, leaving him in 1784 ready to sail for France to serve as American minister. As I have suggested, it seems probable that the completed work will be the most useful biography of Jefferson that we have. If it is not in the greatest tradition of biographies, it is eminently clear, fair, and comprehensive, and it is based upon painstaking research.

The appearance recently of monographs dealing with Jefferson's philos-

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ophy and with his relation to humanistic learning serves to emphasize the breadth of his interests and accomplishments. If one is concerned with the political, constitutional, legal, economic, diplomatic, educational, or architectural history of the United States, Jefferson is a major figure in the story. He is of some significance in the history of agriculture, of penology, of several of the sciences, and of mechanical gadgetry.

No biographer could satisfy all who are interested in the many-sided Jefferson. Professor Malone seems, in my opinion, to have concentrated on presenting a complete narrative and a fully rounded study of the *milieu* in which Jefferson lived, at the expense of an adequate treatment of Jefferson's political and constitutional ideas. Professor Malone does give good, brief descriptions of Jefferson's writings, better ones than are to be found in any of the recent biographies; and his discussion of such sometimes neglected episodes as Jefferson's work in the Virginia legislature is admirable. But he generally limits his discussion of the political writings to summaries and very brief commentaries. The ideas, as distinguished from the historical setting, of the Declaration of Independence and the *Notes on Virginia* get three or four pages each, less than is given to several trivial episodes.

Perhaps it is asking too much of a biographer to deal with the meaning and the significance of political ideas. But the subject here is Jefferson, and Jefferson's greatness rests upon a unique combination of qualities in which it is difficult to tell whether the repeated statement of magnificent ideals or the masterful capacity for leadership is more important. In order to understand his place as a symbol of, as well as a spokesman for, American democracy, we need analysis of his timeless insights as well as descriptions of his shrewd strategy and tactics. I know of no formula by which to measure adequacy of analysis, but there is one proposition which does seem both true and relevant: even as political leadership can be understood only when considered in relation to the complex of which it is a part, so the meaning and significance of a great man's ideas can be grasped only when they are examined in relation to those of his contemporaries.

BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT.

Harvard University.

The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It. By RICHARD HOFSTADTER. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1948. Pp. xi, 378, xviii. $4.00.)

The Americans, who think of themselves as daring innovators, are surprisingly conservative in their political traditions. In this perplexing hour of history, however, they need to be more than merely nostalgic for the heroic past. To find effective solutions to present problems, they must have an unretouched picture of what constitutes the common elements which have directed political thought and action from the very beginning of our

history. This is the task which Dr. Hofstadter has here attempted.

He has chosen the biographical approach, with modifications. His subjects are seven outstanding presidents from Jefferson to F. D. Roosevelt; two presidential hopefuls, John C. Calhoun and William Jennings Bryan; an anti-slavery agitator, Wendell Phillips; and some of the Founding Fathers and the post-Civil War mediocrities. The treatment is less concerned with detailed life histories than with excerpts illustrating the tenor of political thought in different stages of the respective careers.

Dr. Hofstadter contends that concern for property rights, regard for individual opportunity, and enlightened self-interest as the motivation for social progress have been the core of our political belief until the advent of the New Deal. It may startle those readers who have not kept up with their biographical studies to hear that Jefferson was much less the apostle of democracy than the champion of specific property interests; that the Jacksonian revolution was essentially just "a phase in the expansion of liberated capitalism"; that Lincoln was "thoroughly and completely the politician by preference and training," whose vital test of democracy lay in "its ability to provide opportunities for social ascent to those born in its lower ranks"; that Wilson was a progressive in order to "preserve the essentials of our institutions." But the author makes a good case for his positions.

One must be impressed by the careful scholarship and penetrating incisiveness of the author. His style is bright and sharp, as an axe laid to the underbrush of legend; smooth and clever, as a fresh breeze ventilating the stodgy atmosphere of academic research. He is no iconoclast in the Hall of Fame, but he tolerates no nonsense about the great men of history. Here is a writer who can even make his bibliography into an interesting essay.

If one were inclined to be critical, the complaint would have to be on the score of what was left out rather than what was put in. The reader has a vague suspicion that things are over-simplified; human beings are just too complex, and they say too much that is contradictory in a life-time, to be treated so briefly as in this book. Even the author becomes obscure at times in the relation of his data to his principal theme. It might have been helpful to tie together some loose threads in a summary chapter, instead of leaving the reader dangling at loose ends with the demoralized New Deal liberals. As might be expected, too, the essays are not all of equal merit. The author rises to brilliant heights on some occasions, as in his chapter on John C. Calhoun, "the Marx of the Master Class."

This is the work of a keen and cultivated mind which has organized a prodigious mass of material into a forceful challenge to contemporary reflection on what is commonly called "the American heritage."

ALBERT G. HUEGLI.

Concordia Teachers College.

The Province and Function of Law: Law as Logic, Justice, and Social Control; A Study in Jurisprudence. By Julius Stone. (Sydney, Australia: Associated General Publications Pty., Ltd. 1946. The Carswell Company, Toronto, U. S. and Canadian Agents. Pp. lxiv, 918. $15.00.)

This book has received rave notices from practically every reviewer who has read it. It deserves every one of them. In sharp contrast with the fragmentary rehash of judicial rationalizations which all too often passes for present-day legal writing in the proliferating law "reviews," Professor Stone has courageously attempted to write the first comprehensive volume on jurisprudence since the flowering of the sociological school. He brought to this task a wide scholarship, keen analysis, and deep understanding. His bibliography includes some 500 books, 900 law review articles, 200 statutes and codes, and 600 judicial opinions. Nor has he merely glanced at these sources; he is genuinely familiar with them. His materials come from all parts of the Western World, with many European books and American articles and decisions included. The major part of the materials, however, as one would expect from a scholar trained in England, are from English and British Commonwealth sources.

The sweep of this work is tremendous. Professor Stone has studied every important work of legal scholarship known to the reviewer, from Montesquieu to Llewellyn, with the single exception of Ernst Freund. His analyses of these writings show careful study, critical appraisal, and sympathetic understanding. When he expounds the views expressed in them, he does so accurately and with a clarity which the authors themselves often lacked. In this "interlocutory sketch," as the author modestly characterizes his work, he has done more to make the study of the nature of the law accessible and comprehensible than any other writer in the English language.

The author belongs to the sociological school of jurisprudence, and he leans heavily on Pound and Llewellyn. It is natural that he should view the study of jurisprudence as more than a logical excursion through a maze of legal rules. Although logic has its place in the law, it also has very serious limitations as a method and as a norm. The section on The Law and Logic, with its devastating analysis of the theory that logic demands a given decision, should be read by every teacher of public law. Our students would be much better served if we ceased to regard the opinion of the court as the most significant element for discussion and turned instead to the social adjustment which the decision seeks to achieve.

In his discussion of the development of legal thought, particularly the flowering of the ideas of natural law into twentieth-century social solidarism and pragmatism, the author is equally penetrating. He points out that the natural-rights ideas which the courts have read into due process of law may be traced to the philosophy of Bentham and Kant as well as to the

doctrines of the common law. The demonstration that natural law has served both as a revolutionary and as a reactionary force at one time or another opens wide vistas for speculation. Perhaps one of the surest tests of the validity of a legal doctrine is its ability to persist through the centuries and to serve several conflicting interests equally well.

The study of the social conditions to which the law must be applied takes the author into each of the social sciences related to jurisprudence. His background in economics and sociology, anthropology, and political science is naturally not as comprehensive as in the law, but it is adequate. Even though he draws his political science rather heavily from Laski, he does not neglect Barker, Beard, Bruce, Corwin, Haines, Jennings, Kelsen, Lasswell, Merriam, Michels, Robson, or Wallas. As a result of his broad reading in the social sciences, he brings to the discussion of sociological jurisprudence ideas which are often neglected. Thus the impact of political science on jurisprudence is by no means limited to the doctrine of sovereignty. The rôle of law as a means of resolving group conflicts (as developed by Ihering); the function of group pressure in promoting social control (from Mannheim); the difficulties of the consent theory as a moral basis of the state (as presented by Lindsay); and the manipulation of symbols as a means to power (elaborated by Merriam) are all grist for his mill.

It is inevitable that a writer on jurisprudence should center his discussion around the meaning of justice. It is impossible for the law and its officers to make decisions day by day without assuming some criterion of justice. But neither the logic of the law nor its traditional concepts can be made to furnish a satisfactory norm for the just law; nor is it hardly possible to dodge the issue by merely hiding in the social facts of the case. The most useful solution to this problem, it is urged, does not rest with any single criterion, but rather in some relationship, and especially in the relationships between social facts. Thus justice is said to be a function of three variables: human wants, the resources for their satisfaction, and the outlets for human tensions which arise because wants and resources do not balance each other. Students of political theory will recall Montesquieu's suggestion that excellence in law derives from the relation of the rule to the physical world in which it is applied. If the Baron could return to study American as well as English politics today, he well might accept Professor Stone's elaboration of his suggestion.

Consistent with this pluralistic view of justice, the law itself is viewed as incapable of definition in terms of a single criterion. "It is best defined in terms of what have been aptly termed 'clusters of attributes' always or almost always present, but in greatly varying proportions and in constant change." With this frame of reference, the study of jurisprudence comes very close to being the study of social science in general, and political science in particular. But it is a social science viewed teleologi-

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cally. Thus the significance of social science for jurisprudence is as a means of securing justice, rather than as a method of ascertaining the effect of change on social relationships. If this doctrine were carried one step farther, the law would become applied social engineering, with the most satisfactory adjustment of the variables in the situation as the goal. Such an adjustment can hardly be satisfactory, it would seem, unless it provides "a minimum life for all members of society." But even if we follow Professor Stone this far, we are not yet at our goal. We must still define "minimum" in terms which are more precise and more measurable if we are to have confidence in our social engineering. Nevertheless, although Professor Stone has not given us a gyro-compass, his analysis of the function of law in relation to the complex variables of modern society is a good start in the right direction.

Professor Stone has not written his book for high school students, or even for undergraduates. While his style is clear and he makes his points as simply and as directly as possible, his problems, by their very nature, are complicated and theoretical. One who has not had a considerable background in social science and law is likely to miss the significance of much of the discussion. But the volume can be recommended without reservation to the political science profession and to graduate students who are interested in either political theory or public law. No one can read the discussions and criticisms of Duguit, Stammler, Savigny, or Maine—to mention only a few—without obtaining a much better grasp of some of the more difficult problems in political theory. Nor is there any better way to bridge the gap between political theory and public law than the study of jurisprudence—particularly as it has been developed in this book.

RODNEY L. MOTT.

Colgate University.

State Labor Relations Acts; A Study of Public Policy. By CHARLES C. KILLINGSWORTH. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. x, 328. $4.00.)

Because of our federal form of government, both nation and states have made significant contributions to the development of public policy. In recent years, however, attention has been focused on the national government in the formulation of policy. This has been particularly true in the field of labor relations. The enactment of the Wagner Act and the ensuing problems of administration tended to divert attention from the state and local problems in the field of labor-management relations. Dr. Killingsworth's study of the problem at the state level emphasizes, for the first time, significant experiments and contributions to public policy at the local level. Labor relations legislation has been adopted in eleven states.

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Forty per cent of the non-agricultural labor force of the United States is found in these eleven states.

For the purpose of the author's analysis, these state laws are presented in two categories. Those laws following the pattern of the Wagner Act, and calculated to secure industrial peace by encouraging collective bargaining and by protecting organized labor from the abuses of unfair labor practices, are designated "protective." According to the author's classification, "restrictive" policies are found in those states whose legislation recognizes the right to organize and bargain collectively without actually encouraging collective action. "The objective of this policy is to achieve industrial peace, without making the effort of the protective laws to eliminate low wages, sweat shops, industrial autocracy, and associated economic evils" (p. 21). None of the states has merely reënacted the provisions of the Wagner Act, but the states whose policies are labelled "restrictive" have departed widely and fundamentally from both the substantive and procedural provisions of the national law.

The author has collected, analyzed, and studied comparatively not only the legislation but the administrative procedures and the significant court opinions in those states which are contributing to the development of public policy in the field. Five chapters (Chapters 3–7) are devoted to a study of unfair labor practices touching the activities of employers, individual employees, and unions. Other problems included within the scope of the study are: union representation and election (Chapter 8), the bargaining unit (Chapter 9), election and post-election procedures (Chapter 10), mediation, fact-finding and arbitration (Chapter 11), and jurisdictional problems (Chapter 12) inherent in the federal (dual) system of regulation. The author's conclusions and interpretations are presented in Chapter 13. The volume carries also three fact-packed appendices (Appendix A was prepared by the author's wife), a select bibliography, a table of cases, and a subject index. The text carries excellent documentation. The publication gives every indication of exhaustive research, thoughtful study, and careful preparation. Some appreciation of the scope and thoroughness of the study may be had from an examination of the index of cases cited. The work is not primarily a legal study, yet approximately 400 court opinions have been digested and cited. An examination of the author's handling of legislation and administrative procedures and rulings reveals, likewise, comprehensive study and thoroughness of preparation.

The crux of the inquiry is the attempts in several states to secure industrial peace within the framework of the system of free enterprise. Both the "restrictive" and the "protective" policies recognize labor's right to collective action. The policies differ in their expression of attitudes toward

the union, the individual employee, the employer, and the public interest. The author attacks the study on a problem basis, e.g., strikes, picketing, boycotts, union shop, check-off, injunctions, etc., in an attempt to determine the degree of industrial peace which has been attained under diverse legislative policies and administrative procedures. His conclusions are necessarily tentative. Public policy in the area is in flux; for example, the Michigan law was revised as the book went to press and was declared unconstitutional, at least in part, before this review was written. Expressions of policy in other states is likewise unstable. All of the accepted policies have not been properly implemented, and in some cases policy has not been effectively tested through fair administrative procedures—too frequently "enforcement procedure is poorly adapted to the assigned task."

The author avoids conclusions on the relative merits of the two lines of policy, saying: "The choice is necessarily one between degrees of imperfection." He is nevertheless convinced that sound public policy indicates a clear need for state labor-relations acts and that the "state laboratory" method will make a substantial contribution to the formulation of sound public policy. The book is timely, substantial, and sound, and it deserves wide attention.

HAROLD M. DORR.

University of Michigan.

Balance of Power; The Negro Vote. BY HENRY LEE MOON. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1948. Pp. 256. $3.00.)

The sub-title is a better description of the contents of this book than the title. The author argues the thesis of the Negro being the "balance of power" only briefly and without enough attention to political arithmetic to be convincing. Mr. Moon, public relations head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is concerned primarily with presenting the story of Negro voting in the past and present, and in this he does a very commendable job. Five of the twelve chapters are strictly historical, covering the period from before the American Revolution through the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. While these chapters are not original research, they compress the history of the Negro in American politics into compact and readable form.

The author's original contribution is his description of present-day Negro political activity at the grass-roots in three American cities and his chapter on emerging Negro political participation in the South since the disappearance of the white primary and the weakening of some of the other barriers. Another chapter deals with Negro political education through the trade unions, and the author observes that Negroes almost always vote for the more liberal candidate. The author makes vigorous refutation of the canard that the Negro vote is a corrupt or venal one, and he insists

that the Negro is for sale only on the same basis that other American voters are for sale—to the party or candidate that will meet most of their demands and aspirations. A useful chapter observes that the Communist party has exerted more effort to reach the Negro than any other non-Negro group in America. Moon explains its failure to achieve results commensurate with its efforts by the fact that this party simply does not understand the psychology and aspirations of the Negro. It offers him "self-determination for the Black Belt," when such separateness is the very thing that the Negro does not want. The Negro is thoroughly a product of American culture and simply wants full recognition and participation in it.

The author is cautious when he talks about the Negro vote in 1948. While manifesting the greatest admiration for Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, he feels that the Negro is very uncomfortable in the party of Bilbo and Rankin. The Negro's dilemma is like that of the Dixiecrats; there just is not room enough in the Democratic party for both Harlem and Mississippi. Yet he does not find anything in the recent record of the Republican party to attract any overwhelming Negro vote to it. Apparently neither party can count on having the bulk of the Negro vote for the next few years.

There are a few instances where it would have been better if the author had cited the source of his figures. His interpretation of Reconstruction and the Negro's rôle in it would make some historians unhappy. Basically, the author's attitude is that of a sensitive, intelligent Negro insisting firmly, although with appropriate restraint, on the immediate admission of the Negro to the full privileges of American citizenship. He is a little harsh on and misconceiving of the position of Southern liberal politicians, for whom it is politically suicidal to be openly pro-Negro, but who are the alternative to the Rankins and Bilbos whom Moon so thoroughly detests.

DONALD S. STRONG.

University of Alabama.

The Issue of Compulsory Health Insurance. BY GEORGE W. BACHMAN AND LEWIS MERIAM. (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution. 1948. Pp. ix, 291. $4.00.)

This book will be a comfort to the American Medical Association. The study was undertaken at the request of Senator Smith, chairman of the subcommittee on health of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Because of wide public interest in the subject, Brookings has made the study available in printed form.

Mr. Bachman and Mr. Meriam explain that the purpose of their study is not to consider specifically the issue of whether the national government should take action in the field of individual medical care. Major attention is devoted instead to the issues involved in a choice between a revolu-

tionary system of compulsory national health insurance and a plan under which the national government would make grants-in-aid to the several states to enable them to develop plans for providing medical care for the indigent.

The authors are correct in asserting, however, that "much of the evidence considered will be of interest to persons" who feel that the national government should take no action "in the field of individual medical care." Not only is the report opposed to a national compulsory plan, but its general tone gives the impression that the authors are hardly enthusiastic over any alternative grant-in-aid plan.

The report is a critical appraisal of available evidence, not the product of new research. Main consideration is confined to the study by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care (1932) and to the National Health Survey directed by the Public Health Service (1939). The authors stress the limitations of these two surveys and argue that the picture of health and medical care in the United States is brighter than the studies seem to indicate. Further to substantiate their position, Messrs. Bachman and Meriam plough into the widely publicized selective service statistics and come to the conclusion that they "are unreliable as a measure of the health of the nation and cannot be used to show the extent of the medical needs of the country as a whole."

There is no doubt that this Brookings report is a thoughtful and expert consideration of the subject, and that many of the conclusions are inescapable. It is equally true that other able experts have given markedly different interpretations to the same evidence. The Senate subcommittee, in order to obtain a well-rounded picture of the problem, should engage in some supplementary reading.

M. NELSON MCGEARY.

Pennsylvania State College.

La Constitution Fédérale de la Suisse, 1848-1948. By WILLIAM E. RAPPARD. (Neuchâtel-Suisse: A La Baconnière. 1948. Pp. 477.)

The Swiss constitution of 1848, the centenary of which is celebrated this year in Switzerland and elsewhere, is an important document for the American observer on two counts. On the one hand, it transformed a confederation of sovereign states into a federal system, establishing a federal executive, a federal legislature, and a federal court and distributing the functions of government between the new federal agencies and the traditional agencies of the individual states. While the federal structure of Switzerland differs in many important respects fundamentally from our federal system, the problem of federal-state relations is fundamental both here and there, and the problems and trends observable in Switzerland

may elucidate the problems and trends with which we have to deal in the United States.

On the other hand, the Swiss constitution of 1848 and the peaceful coöperation of four different nationalities under it has become one of the popular arguments in favor of international federation on a European, if not on a world, scale. The public is treated to the mythological spectacle of a Swiss democracy where for more than six centuries segments of the main European nations have lived together in peace and freedom. This example is held up to the rest of the world for emulation, and we are told that if only the rest of the world would act as the Swiss have acted, their peace and freedom would be as secure as the Swiss has been. A very distinguished writer has recently summarized in a very distinguished publication this popular view of Swiss history in these words: "It was on August 1, 1291, that the mountaineers of three cantons met in a meadow on the shores of Lake Lucerne to proclaim their independence of the Habsburg barons and constitute the 'perpetual league' that has lasted to this day. A hundred years ago, representatives of the free cantons, now grown to twenty-two, assembled to consolidate their union under a new constitution, modeled in many respects on that of the young republic of the United States, at that time just getting into gear but already a model mechanism for a federal system."

On these two counts, Professor Rappard's book makes an important contribution to our understanding of Swiss democracy. Its purpose is three-fold. First, it undertakes to show how and why the old confederation of sovereign states was in 1848 transformed into a federal state. Professor Rappard goes back to the Napoleonic wars which made an end to the old Swiss constitution. He then analyzes the constitution of 1815 and the policies, conflicts, and reforms which culminated in the constitution of 1848. In the second part, Professor Rappard presents an analysis of the main provisions of the constitution and of the steps which led to their adoption. In the third part, the evolution of the constitution is traced through the hundred years of its existence, and the very numerous amendments are analyzed in their impact on the structure and the political life of Switzerland. A tabulation of the original text of the fundamental law and of its successive revisions will prove particularly useful to the scholar. An evaluation of the influence of the constitution of 1848 upon the national destinies of Switzerland rounds out the work.

Professor Rappard shows very clearly the inevitability of centralization in the modern state. The common denominator of the many revisions of the constitution of 1848 has been the weakening of the individual state and the strengthening of the federal government, either directly by adding to its functions or indirectly by giving added powers to the electorate

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through the extension of the rights of popular initiative and referendum.

The signal contribution of Professor Rappard's latest volume lies, however, in the field to which his previous major works have already contributed so much, that is, the importance of the Swiss example for international affairs. In a preceding work, Professor Rappard has shown the failure of the Swiss experiment so long as it was based upon international relations in the form of collective security. This book supplements his *Cinq siècles de sécurité collective* in that it shows that Switzerland as a federal state was a result, not of a centuries-old harmony among reasonable and peaceful people, but of a struggle for power culminating in a civil war through which one faction of the nation was able to impress its will upon the other.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU.

University of Chicago.

Deutsche Staatsgestaltung; Gesicht einer Universellen Volksvertretung. By HELMUT UNKELBACH. (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe Verlag. 1947. Pp. v, 103.)

This book manifests two fundamental weaknesses from which most post-World War II political writing in Germany suffers: first, a distorted vision of the world resulting from the complete spiritual isolation of the Hitler period and the war, and which—within a range of variability—persists even now during the occupation era; second (and closely related), a guilt psychosis which, in stark contrast to the Hitler period, tends to indict the German people and national character far beyond what may be considered justified self-criticism. This little volume, written by a university instructor, tries to draft the outlines of a German political constitution of the future. Typical of German political thought, it does so by devoting nearly half of its contents to a philosophical analysis of the "German national character" which the proposed constitution is supposed to "fit."

The distorted views of Germany in relation to the rest of the world are often grotesque, though far less dangerous and certainly more well-intended than those which characterized the Nazi writers of yesterday. The deep-seated cause of Germany's decline, of which the Nazi system and its consequences are considered to be merely the ultimate effects, is seen in two major German peculiarities, *charakterliche Spezialisierung* and *fachliche Spezialisierung* (freely and probably best translated as specialization of personality and occupational specialization). Through thirty-nine pages which deal with these two alleged basic aberrations of the German mind, it does not become clear what really constitutes the difference between the two, since the author actually explains under both headings the same dilemma attending the history of education everywhere: its growing departmentalization and specialization. Under the condition of

national isolation in which they grew up, the intellectuals among the younger German generation seem to have lost the sense of proportion which would enable them to see the problems in their proper space and dimension. The author uses the wrong approach when, throughout his book, he mistakes universal culture trends for exclusively national forms of behavior.

Thus, it is "*characterliche Spezialisierung*" when German experimental and theoretical physicists do not understand each other (p. 18). "Only in Germany" are there two types of "specialized" orators, the *completely* detached and the *completely* demagogic (pp. 20–21). Even the military defeat is explained in terms of specialization of military minds entirely removed from "scientific-technical" personnel which in its turn provided the scientific and technical media for modern warfare without being understood and appreciated by the military—another "typical German situation" which will recur as often as Germany ventures into modern war. Modern war is therefore the least of the real German callings (pp. 21–22): *Characterliche Spezialisierung* will always defeat the propects of German military success (*ibid*).

It is, according to Herr Unkelbach, also typical *deutscher Idealismus*, which other people do not share, to strive after the realization of an idea without thought of compromise or detraction. Tolerance, for instance, cannot be realized without reducing it to a point where it can be exploited by the intolerant. Typically, the Weimar system ignored this truth, thus making possible the "legal" ascendancy of National Socialism (p. 26). Other examples from the field of *fachliche Spezialisierung* are not substantially different from the foregoing.

The author's positive suggestions for a better Germany and a German constitution follow the same pattern of tilting against windmills. There is no understanding of the power of either a free public opinion or the desire for reëlection on the part of the chief office-holders as potent regulators of democratic behavior. Nor is there any appreciation of the function and necessity of democratic philosophies and *mores* in shaping the life of a nation, particularly of a nation as inclined toward philosophizing as are the Germans. There is a lot of talk about "majorities," "pluralities," "P. R.," "lower and upper houses" (the latter to be wholly composed of an intellectual élite of *Fachleute*, i.e., leading specialists in the fields of science, theology, technology, and arts!). Nothing that is said is new. Much of what is said is odd. There is hardly any connection between the first half of the book which analyzes the "German character" without profundity and perspective and the second half which proposes a constitution. This latter neither fulfills the promise of being constructed along lines which "fit the German nation" nor is necessarily a *democratic* constitution.

This reviewer hopes that out of the unmeasurable tragedy of the

German physical and moral collapse may emerge in the not too distant future a new type of realistic self-analysis. It may, *if* it comes, prepare the way for a possible synthesis of what is acknowledged as good in Germany's past, on the one hand, and a really democratic way of life, on the other. The book under review does not, in the reviewer's opinion, rate as a step in this direction. It is significant, however, because representative of an important sector of youthful thinking in present-day Germany. As such, it deserves respect as an honest attempt stymied—at least in part—by the conditions of an era and the superimposed difficulties of a generation in Germany, rather than by the author's own shortcomings.

LUDWIG FREUND.

Roosevelt College.

Stalin and German Communism; A Study in the Origins of the State Party. By RUTH FISCHER. With a preface by Sidney B. Fay. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xxii, 687. $8.00.)

The relationship between the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties in other countries is in the news. Tito in Yugoslavia and Gomulka in Poland appear to have thought the relationship one-sided. Miss Fischer makes this question the subject of her book and focuses on the evidence provided by the history of the German Communist party between the years 1918 and 1929. During several of those years, she was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Germany and one of its representatives on the Presidium of the Communist International. In 1925, she split with the Comintern over what she thought to be the Russian domination it denoted, and she took the stand in her own party to denounce it. She lays Russian domination to Stalin's desire for power. Her book is in considerable measure a bitter denunciation of Stalin as the betrayer of doctrines which she once espoused.

It is probably difficult for disappointed revolutionaries to write with scholarly detachment about events which led to their disappointment. Miss Fischer tries to be critical, but she is frank to state "the lasting admiration I feel for this great revolutionary figure" [Trotsky]. Most of the important documentary references and most of the damaging letters and episodes relating to Stalin are from Trotsky's works. Few reviewers have found Trotsky a detached scholar. It is to be regretted that the few interviews which Miss Fischer had with Stalin are not reported in greater detail.

Miss Fischer is one of those who believe that much, if not all, would have been different if Lenin had lived. She thinks that Lenin did not want a monopolistic State Party in Russia, and that from his deathbed he tried to prevent its development. She explains Lenin's favoring of the coöpera-

tives in Russia during his dying months as part of an effort to supersede the State Party with other forms of organization. Readers of Sir John Maynard's *Russia in Flux* will find a similar thesis explaining Stalin's espousal of a new constitution in 1936. Sir John thought that Stalin likewise lacked confidence in his possible successors and sought to put power in the hands of the people to forestall an unenlightened leadership's gaining control after his death. Miss Fischer finds that Lenin also lacked confidence in his successors and turned to the people.

The book amounts to a history of the Russian party, with alternating chapters on events in Germany, and in the rest of Eastern Europe as well. There is much valuable material, as for example that relating to Karl Radek, whom she apparently knew intimately, and to a lesser degree Manuilsky, who now figures prominently in the United Nations. Both had marked influence on events in the German party. Her experiences with Zinoviev will be important for his biographers. These personal relationships make the book rewarding.

It is to be regretted that after promising a second volume to cover the years 1929–1939, Miss Fischer is unable to resist the temptation to bring the first volume up to date in a final chapter. After nearly 650 pages devoted to the first decade of Russian developments, she hurries through the next two decades in thirteen pages to provide a series of generalizations sometimes including errors of fact, as in classifying the former Chechen-Ingush Republic as a "Soviet Socialist" Republic, which would have ranked it with the Ukraine, when, in fact, it was of a lower category.

JOHN N. HAZARD.

Columbia University.

Czechoslovakia Between East and West. BY WILLIAM DIAMOND. (London: Stevens and Sons, Limited. 1947. Pp. xii, 258. 12/6.)

Mr. Diamond's book, published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs, is based on statistics and official sources of information. The appendices consist of four pages of statistical tables giving the May, 1946, election results, and showing various phases of recent Czechoslovak economic development. There is also a useful seven-page bibliography, an eight-page index, and a map of Czechoslovakia.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first (pp. 1–60), the author traces the political evolution in Czechoslovakia since the Košice Program (April, 1945), which embodied the general principles underlying future development. The Program, however, was interpreted differently by different political parties, although there was general agreement on the basic points. During the preparatory period for the election of a National Assembly, the first division between the Communist and non-Communist parties occurred over the question of who had the right to vote. The

Communists had their way, and the elections were eventually held, with the Communist party polling 38 per cent of the votes, twice as many as its nearest competitor. A new government was formed by Communist Klement Gottwald, and a new program, under the influence of the Communist party, superseded the Košice Program (July 8, 1946).

In the second part of the book (pp. 60–181), which presents the economic developments in Czechoslovakia, the author points out that there were considerable differences of opinion on the methods by which the government should attain its economic and social objectives. These set off long debates which usually ended in compromise between the parties of the National Front. It required, for example, almost six months to prepare the nationalization decrees.

One chapter is devoted to the question of labor, the effects on Czechoslovakia's economy caused by the expulsion of the Germans, and the colonization of the territory formerly belonging to the Germans. In another chapter, the author presents a detailed discussion of the status of industry and foreign trade as a result of the nationalization. Regarding the Two-Year Plan of Economic Reconstruction, launched by the Czechoslovak government on January 1, 1947, Mr. Diamond says that the plan is only a partial one, devoted primarily to the establishment of production goals in basic industries and invested goods.

The third and last part (pp. 181–237) of the book is devoted to foreign policy. Mr. Diamond says that the Czechoslovaks "implicitly recognized what they explicitly denied: that the world was dividing into two camps. And in recognizing that fact, they also admitted the existence of a Slavonic *bloc*" (p. 227).

The author's conclusions (pp. 228–37) are conveniently summarized at the end of the book. He points out that, in contrast to its pre-Munich position, the new Czechoslovakia has become "an exclusively Slav state"; that its economic geography has radically changed; that the industrial preponderance of the borderlands and the economic weight of Bohemia have declined; that Slovakia has grown in economic importance and has become the field of a large-scale industrialization program, eliminating in this way a source of social antagonism between Slovakia and the Czech lands; that individual small-farm basis has been strengthened not only by distribution of confiscated lands, but by the encouragement of coöperatives and the mechanization of agricultural work; and that private industrial and financial institutions have been severely limited by the nationalization and extensive governmental regulation and encroachment.

Those familiar with the course of political and economic development in other Southeast European countries since the war will find, after reading Mr. Diamond's book, that even though the evolution of Communist power in Czechoslovakia was somewhat slower, the Communist tactics

and pattern of development were the same as elsewhere. As elsewhere in Southeastern Europe, the Czechoslovak Communist party was the most active underground group. It was able to take advantage of its position in the early days of liberation; it had a precisely outlined program, a party discipline, and an effective political organization; it was quick to assume leadership in all popular movements—in the expulsion of Germans, colonization of borderlands, punishment of traitors, etc.

The author has treated ably and in scholarly fashion the economic and political development of postwar Czechoslovakia. He is fully aware of the manifold problems facing the country, and in his concluding note there is a word of caution. "The world that lies somewhere between," he says, "must find a solution somewhere between; but the solution can be found only by experience and in time. The tragedy is that the solution must be worked out in the shadow of the two *colossi* that bestride this now narrow world, whose coöperation can alone assure the stability the world needs and who can contribute so much to make that stability fruitful, but whose mutual suspicion and hostility threaten to bring the world to a disaster which human ingenuity has made possible (p. 237).

WAYNE S. VUCINICH.

Stanford University.

The Price of Power. By HANSON W. BALDWIN (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. Pp. xii, 361. $3.75.)

We have lived to see power and greatness thrust upon the United States. Yet in a world made one by technology and two by ideology, the dilemma of American foreign policy today is to achieve national security without sacrificing the very values we seek to preserve. Danger now lurks along our national frontiers as it has not done since our pioneering forefathers crushed the Indians. That precious political structure which through three centuries has been building in the New World is less and less safe from Old World attack. Yet we are slowly realizing that what we have achieved in the New World will not be preserved unless the whole world moves toward the goal of freedom for the common man everywhere. We can save ourselves, but only in helping our like-minded neighbors save themselves until that other world behind the Iron Curtain learns to live at peace with itself and with us. We have the power, but at a price. As Mr. Baldwin strives to make us see, "The price of power is huge; it is not ease but toil, not peace but struggle, not wealth but taxes" (p. 322). A hard saying.

In *The Price of Power*, we find many hard sayings. The lessons of World War II, new agencies of warfare, our stocks of raw materials, universal military training, the handling of the draft, the 1947 National Security Act, the Central Intelligence Agency, public apathy toward economic

preparedness, our moral immaturity, fear of alliances, "world governmenters," military influence in politics, and the concentration of population, industry, and government are among the many aspects of the problem which need rethinking.

In the almost certain event of another war, the author warns us, we may hope for survival and victory only if we undertake the necessary and costly precautions now while there is yet time. The case for our national survival is set forth in the first part of this book. We can be comforted that the elements of power here marshalled render the United States today *the* giant of the earth. But giants have been undone—Goliath, Cyclops, Samson—for having brawn without brains, strength without strategy, virtue without vigilance.

It is in the rest of the book that the comfort-seekers will find little to satisfy them. This part is devoted to a reconsideration of American strategy and tactics, intelligence and research, war readiness, home front defense, the human element, and the monetary costs, with an additional chapter on policy objectives. Impressive arguments support the heroic measures which Mr. Baldwin prescribes for capitalizing upon our present strength, measures which can be adopted only after a radical change in thinking for most of us and a stern shift in our easy-going way of life for all of us. The chapter on policy objectives, in which isolation, a world compact, and a *pax Americana* are rejected in favor of the balance of power is no less persuasive. " . . . we shall travel no easy road," he concludes (p. 328). To meet its dangers will take the initiative and vigor, the determination and hope, that once made great our national character, while of each of us will be required a new concern for politics, a deeper commitment as citizens, and a disciplined and eternal vigilance. For the price of power will be paid to the last farthing.

The Price of Power is no book to be looked at in the few paragraphs of a review. No review has done or can do justice to the grim lesson which is its purpose, to the insights which it conveys, or, still less, to the skill with which the author has handled the complex elements of our horribly difficult task. Mr. Baldwin and the Council on Foreign Relations have performed a public service in preparing this book; to read it is a public duty.

JAMES T. WATKINS, IV.

Stanford University.

From the League to U.N. By GILBERT MURRAY. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. 217. $4.50.)

To his half-hundred publications treating, in about equal numbers, of the Greek world of city-states and our world of national states, the sometime Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford and past president of the British League of Nations Union has added one more title. But though

this begins where his *Ordeal of This Generation* left off—twenty years ago when the League of Nations was at its height—it is not a comparable inquiry into the decline of the League and its resurrection in the guise of the United Nations. Indeed, as a glance at the table of contents shows, the title has not been well chosen. Having expected more, some of us, therefore, may leaf through Chapters IV and IX (respectively entitled "A League of Nations" and "The New League"), and afterwards put the book aside for something more immediately practical.

What Professor Murray has done is to bring together with an introductory chapter a baker's dozen of addresses and other papers, all products of the past decade and a half. Confessing that "few forms of literature are less attractive than a reprint of old speeches when the thrill of the moment has gone . . . ," he justifies the volume on the sole ground that future historians may wish to know how "normal advocates" of League and U.N. thought and felt. That underrates both Professor Murray, who hardly is representative of the average, and his book, which, once started, will not, I think, be put aside for something more practical.

For we fall quickly under the spell of wise and genial reflections. History and philosophy give depth and breadth to political science. Unhurried, urbane, indulgent of his audience, a little weary, more than a little melancholy (for the war has been long and victory is yet far off), the old soldier addresses younger comrades-in-arms. Many of the themes which appear repeatedly in these pages are already familiar from the *Ordeal of this Generation*—the alternation of Cosmos and Chaos in human affairs, the contrasts between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the incompatibility of war and civilization, the institutional prerequisites to peace, the international of the mind [Professor Murray's exact wording]—but all bear repetition. We are made to listen and are left to think.

It can only be a matter for gratitude to have between the end-papers of a single volume these selections from scattered note-books. But they make us wish that Professor Murray, following the example of his old chief, Lord Cecil, would now give us the story of the ordeal of this generation as lived and seen since 1928 by one of the more redoubtable of the century's crusaders for a saner world.

Meanwhile there remains the need for a systematic study of international organization "from the League to U.N.

JAMES T. WATKINS, IV.

Stanford University.

Experiment in World Order. BY PAUL MCGUIRE. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1948. Pp. vii, 412. $4.00.)

The contemporary problems of the British Commonwealth of Nations may, in the main, be reduced to two issues. One concerns the external rela-

tions of the Commonwealth and colonial Empire to non-British powers. The other involves the changes taking place, both structurally and functionally, within the British family. Mr. McGuire's book is a new contribution to the growing literature touching upon these problems, though it is rather to the former question—the external relations of the Commonwealth—that he devotes his closest attention. The writer is an Australian and is described by his publishers as "historian, critic, lecturer, political economist (and in his lighter moments writer of mystery stories)." Service in the Intelligence branch of the Navy during the war was followed by travel in Europe, the United States, and Canada, and by attendance at various international conferences. The book that has resulted from such qualifications and experiences is characteristic of many that now receive currency. It is written by a man who, not primarily a scholar, has derived from reading and travel various conclusions which he seeks to share with an audience that is not primarily one of scholars. The style, while fluent and readable, is full of familiar journalistic techniques; and the plan of organization, though mainly historical, justifies Mr. McGuire's own statement that "it is a discursive book and it much returns on its arguments" (p. 16). The treatment in general borrows little from the apparatus of scholarship, is lacking in citation of sources, and tends to omit those qualifications and exceptions which distinguish the dogmatic assertion from the probable generalization. The result has much in common, that is to say, with other publications of the "My Meeting With Bevin" or "I Was at Flushing Meadows" variety.

In the historical part of the book, there is no new material. But, to the author, the most important part of his writing is undoubtedly its message. Having read the lessons of history, he emerges as an advocate and presents his case. The British system has proved itself to be a working world order. It has evolved organically and has endured. Its present weakening should not be allowed to become a disintegration, since the Commonwealth meets a world need. With the indispensable coöperation of the United States, the Commonwealth must be developed as the lynch-pin for a new world order. Together with such views, Mr. McGuire reveals his preferences, which are decidedly in favor of Empire and against the United Nations, as well as against the kind of social systems which Labor and non-Labor parties have helped to establish in his own Australia, in New Zealand, and also in the United Kingdom.

Some points in the author's case command warm assent. The ever greater need for the closest and most harmonious coöperation between the United States, Great Britain, and the Dominions can never be reemphasized enough. If Mr. McGuire's pleading will help, as it may, to convince some readers who would otherwise be unpersuaded, he will have rendered valuable service. Beyond this, his opinions are of dubious valid-

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ity. Even the English-speaking world cannot, of itself, maintain peace. To refer contemptuously to the United Nations, as the writer so frequently does (e.g., pp. 12, 17, 364), is to weaken further the one frail existing symbol of world unity. Mr. McGuire dismisses the United Nations charter as an artefact not corresponding to the organic reality of an international society. Yet, without realizing his inconsistency, he speaks of "an age when the Basuto buys a bicycle from Birmingham and he and a Yankee in Connecticut both ride on rubber from Malaya" (p. 2). Had the analysis probed deeper, such faults could have been eradicated from a book which is obviously well-meant.

LESLIE LIPSON.

Swarthmore College.

The Manchurian Crisis, 1931–1932; A Tragedy in International Relations. By SARA R. SMITH. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 281. $3.75.)

At 10 p.m. on September 18, 1931, Japanese armed forces clashed with Chinese troops a few miles north of the city of Mukden. This obscure clash was of epoch-making importance, for the Manchurian Affair, thus initiated, was more than just a new move in Japan's program for the domination of eastern Asia. It was a direct challenge to the brave new concept of collective security, and the failure of world diplomacy to devise an effective reply to the challenge resulted in what Professor Smith properly calls "a tragedy in international relations."

The major part of Miss Smith's excellent monograph deals with the diplomatic activity—and inactivity—at Geneva, Washington, Paris, and London between the afternoon of September 19, when the Manchurian incident was brought officially to the attention of the League Council, and December 10, when the Council voted unanimously to create a Commission of Inquiry—the Lytton Commission. Fourteen months were still to elapse before the League Assembly—by a record vote of 42 to 1, with Siam not voting—found Japan guilty of having violated the League Covenant, but by December 10 the situation had developed along lines that left no doubt as to the ultimate tragic outcome. By that date Japan's "forward policy" had become so firmly entrenched—both militarily in Manchuria and sentimentally at home—that nothing short of armed intervention by the other great powers could have forced its abandonment, and Japan's leaders had by that time ample reason to believe that any form of serious international action lay outside the realm of probability.

Branding as pure myth the oft-repeated story that Secretary Stimson "backed the League to the limit" and that Sir John Simon "left him out on a limb," Professor Smith makes it quite clear that the American

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Secretary of State neither went out on a limb nor even backed the League to the limit. Mr. Stimson, in fact, had his own ideas as to the nature of the Manchurian affair and as to the way in which it should be handled—ideas which did not wholly agree with those held at Geneva. Convinced that the affair was primarily an internal struggle for power between Japan's militarists and the "liberal" civilian element led by Baron Shidehara, Mr. Stimson feared that any form of international interference in Manchuria would arouse increased popular support for the Japanese militarists and destroy all hope of Shidehara's continuance in power. On September 23, therefore, he refused to approve a proposal that the Council immediately set up a commission of inquiry in which a representative of the United States should be included. Mr. Stimson's policy did not save Shidehara, and it is quite possible that no joint action by the League and the United States would have checked the Japanese program; but Professor Smith makes a good case to support the view that our refusal to go along with the League on this point and Mr. Stimson's coolness to League proposals on several later occasions during the critical twelve weeks convinced the Japanese that they had no reason to fear joint international action.

The book has no formal bibliography, but Professor Smith's footnotes indicate that she has made full use of the available source material and, with the exception of Takeuchi's *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire*, all the important secondary works bearing upon her subject. The most recent Department of State volumes on Manchuria (published in September) may throw new light upon some minor points, and the documents of the Japanese Foreign Office, when they become available, may justify major revisions. For the present, however, we have here an authoritative and extremely readable study of what may be termed "Act One" of the Second World War. One mildly critical suggestion: the discussion concentrates so strongly upon the rôle played by the United States that the title of the book might properly be amended by prefixing the three words—"American Policy and."

G. NYE STEIGER.

Simmons College.

The United States and China. By JOHN K. FAIRBANK. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 384. $3.75.)

In this sixth volume of the American Foreign Policy Library edited by Sumner Welles, Professor Fairbank of Harvard has made an outstanding contribution to a better understanding of China. For those primarily interested in diplomacy, the title is misleading. Of the 341 pages of text, only the last short chapter deals with "American Policy Toward China;"

yet this is the book's strength. With the possible exception of the Soviet Union, no other country demands more objective analysis than China as a basis for a sound American foreign policy.

Although written by an historian, *The United States and China* has kept the details of chronology to an essential minimum. Admirable success has been achieved in the attempt "to summarize the major patterns of thought and conduct, the major political and economic forms, which China's long past has ingrained in Chinese society, and to show their relation to the current Chinese scene" (p. 4). Herein lies the volume's almost unique value among contemporary studies on China.

Professor Fairbank's evidenced scholarship is unassailable, yet his writing has the simplicity and clarity that provides most engaging readability. Above all, the judgment exercised in the selection of material, the unusual balance maintained on controversial issues, and the very broad coverage make this small volume quite extraordinary. The "China Hand" will find few new facts, but for the specialist as much as the general reader, the superior organization and presentation of the forces in Chinese society will definitely add to his knowledge and appreciation of China today. Although not intended as a textbook, the volume would seem to offer most profitable use for supplementary reading in any social science course dealing with the Far East.

Among the many features of the book, two in particular stand forth: first, the recognition without prejudice of the failures of the Kuomintang, and the reasoned description without bias of the extent of Russian influence on the Chinese Communists; and second, the repeated emphasis on the nationalist character of the Chinese revolution.

One thing is sure—the revolution has gone so far there can be no turning back. What form it will eventually take, no one today is qualified to say. But beyond argument is Professor Fairbank's basic thesis that "it is a choice which the Chinese people must make in China and we cannot make it for them." "It is fundamentally a social issue in the broad sense. . . ." "Our task is therefore how to contribute to solving China's problems more effectively than the Russians can contribute" (p. 341).

Even with the tremendous historical scope of this book, it is difficult to detect an important omission. However, it seems to this reviewer that at least some reference to Stillwell and Hurley is called for in any discussion of recent American relations, regardless of its brevity.

It is a relief not to have pages cluttered up with superfluous footnotes, but this obvious editorial policy for the series does prevent the scholar from following up on the many significant details casually referred to in the text. This shortcoming is partly remedied by the seventeen pages of critically annotated, exceedingly well selected and classified, "Suggested

Readings." General Marshall's Statement on China is also included in the Appendix, and there is a good index.

PHILIP H. TAYLOR.

Syracuse University.

There is Another China; Essays and Articles for Chang Poling of Nankai. BY JOHN LOSSING BUCK *et al.* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University. 1948. Pp. viii, 178. $2.75.)

This remarkably interesting collection of essays is probably the first Western book to be published in homage to a Chinese scholar. As such, it testifies to the cultural interpenetration which occurs beneath the melodramatic surface of present world politics and to the benign approach which Americans and Chinese have made to one another's ways of living during the past fifty years. As a gesture, it is noble; as a collection of readable, authoritative essays on modern China, it is extremely stimulating.

Dr. Chang, to whom the volume is dedicated, is a celebrated educator with a deep interest in practical national reconstruction. He has been preëminent in North China in educational leadership. Under him, the Nankai Institute of Economics achieved world-wide fame until Japanese artillery fire put an abrupt stop to its work in 1937. Dr. Chang's life is outlined by Dr. Hu Shih, philosopher, litterateur, and former Chinese ambassador to the United States. J. B. Condliffe outlines the practical economic research which Nankai got done under extremely adverse circumstances, and therewith presents an effective critique of Western economic thought as applied to China. Another economic essay by the distinguished team of John and Dorothy Orchard follows this by summarizing the salient features of China's many-faceted economic revolution; they stress the point, too often minimized, that China was no mere land of latifundia in which peasant, land, and landlord comprised the whole of economic experience, but a tremendous manufacturing country—in the original sense of that distorted word—wherein dispersed and specialized industries maintained the material needs of a huge and sophisticated society.

Harold Vinacke, Arthur N. Holcombe, and Quincy Wright present the three political essays, dealing in turn with recent political history, institutional development, and international relations. In each article, the key problem can perhaps be found—implicitly or explicitly—in the growth of the governing process into modern, effective, legal, national form. Professor Holcombe's examination of the draft Chinese constitution in contrast with the Stalin constitution, Professor Wright's convenient summary of China's diplomatic problems, and Professor Vinacke's objective

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treatment of Nationalist-Communist rivalry stand out with special interest for political scientists.

Other essays include a brief comment on science education in China; a thought-provoking epitome of Sino-Western agricultural interchange by John Lossing Buck, the outstanding authority on the subject; and discussions of philosophy by W. E. Hocking and of medical problems by E. H. Hume. Arthur W. Hummel's "Portrait of a Scholar" is the only contribution by a professional Sinologue; it is a delightful portrait of a Chinese historian of the eighteenth century. The "Introduction" by President Stuart of Yenching University, who succeeded General Marshall as our ambassador in Nanking, provides insights into the way politics and education affect each other in China.

This book will be valuable to teachers of modern history or Far East courses who want to show their students the enduring values of China and to demonstrate the profound truth that even in war-torn China not all politics is strategy.

PAUL M. A. LINEBARGER.

School of Advanced International Studies.

Cartels or Competition? By GEORGE W. STOCKING AND MYRON W. WATKINS. (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund. 1948. Pp. xi, 516. $4.00.)

This is the second of three volumes sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund on the problem of monopoly. The first eleven chapters, which deal with factual material, were prepared by the co-authors, who were also the research directors of the project. The last chapter, which is a report and recommendation for action, was put out by the committee, of which James M. Landis was chairman.

In discussing the history of the cartel movement, the authors point out that, despite the growth of monopoly in the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, cartels were not factors to be reckoned with until some twenty years ago. The birthplace of the modern cartel was Germany, where they first appeared in those industries in which the state was an active participant as a producer, but in which private enterprise had a foothold. The tendency was most clearly exemplified at first in the field of mining. Industrial leaders in other countries, especially those in England, became imbued with the economic philosophy underlying cartelization, and even accepted the German industrialists as partners in a program of world-wide economic coöperation. The upshot was the Düsseldorf Conference in 1939 between British and German industrial leaders, which culminated in an agreement to try to replace competition by coöperative exploitation of world markets.

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The authors devote considerable space to the forms and scope of cartels, dealing with specific examples, such as the coffee valorization scheme, the control of tea, tin control, and best known of all, perhaps, the chemical combines. Sometimes there was no government aid to or participation in these schemes, but in other instances governments were active partners.

The primary purpose of cartels has been to seek advantages for the participating enterprises, specifically the raising of prices or increasing of profits, often by restricting output. "Any possible benefits to consumers are indirect and incidental." Since such is the case, the need for protection of the public is obvious. Although schemes for registration, regulation, or representation of consumers have been advanced, none of the defenders of cartel agreements has formulated a thoroughgoing plan of protection.

The final chapter is a report of the committee, which points out that a government may choose among five types of policies: (a) do nothing; (b) deliberate encouragement; (c) acceptance and attempt to regulate; (d) nationalization; (e) breaking up cartels and fostering competition. Although the committee declares that no policy followed by a government is likely to consist entirely of any one of these, it states its preference in the following words: "If it can be successfully carried out, the policy of breaking up cartels and fostering competition would offer the best prospects for the United States." The committee declares that the United States, acting alone, might be able to do more than the International Trade Organization, since it leads all other countries in production and trade and could, through its action or inaction, influence the economies of other countries in many ways.

Cartels or Competition? is a comprehensive and scholarly treatise on the economic aspects of this important topic—one which not only scholars, but also legislators and administrative officials, might profitably read. Although beyond the scope of the investigation, one cannot help wishing that the political implications of cartelization could have been studied and somehow woven into this splendid report.

FORD P. HALL.

Indiana University.

Das Budget. BY KURT HEINIG. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. Vol. I, 1st installment. 1948. Pp. 160. RM 8.00.)

Both the great depression of the thirties and World War II have sharply prodded governments into novel adventures in public finance. In these adventures, fiscal policy has emerged as a principal tool of control over economic development. Because effective budgetary machinery is an essential requirement of resourceful fiscal policy, the budget has greatly gained in importance for the way nations manage their affairs. Governmental budget systems have come to occupy a prominent place among the mechanisms employed in the political process. This evolution makes a

fresh comparative treatment of public budgeting particularly desirable.

Judged by its first installment, Kurt Heinig's scholarly two-volume project on the budget may be expected to win high acclaim for the breadth of its comparative approach. Now living in Stockholm, the author before 1933 was a member of the budget committee of the German Reichstag. During the years of his exile he has turned his practical knowledge into a foundation for extensive theoretical studies. Evidence of the scope of these studies is the large body of footnote references to the budgetary literature of different countries, including the United States, England, France, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, the Soviet Union, China, and Japan.

The completed first volume, calling for three further installments, is to contain the following sections: an introduction to the general characteristics of the budget; an historical exposition of the growth of modern expenditure control; an analysis of its ends and means; an examination of its stages and methods; and a study of the political types of expenditure control. The second volume is to present the criteria to govern the making of the budget, usually called principles. This division of the subject-matter may indicate that the author's stress is more on the processes of accountability than on the factors that influence the particular goals of budgetary policy and the rôle of the budget agency in the fields of fiscal planning and executive management.

The close relationship in contemporary government between general economic programs and budget formulation has been acknowledged in the United States in the creation of the Council of Economic Advisers as part of the Executive Office of the President, in which is also located the Bureau of the Budget. Fiscal and economic affairs have recently been blended in a similar way in the British Treasury. Moves like these may suggest that the center of gravity in budgeting is shifting. No such shift, however, is likely to detract from the author's insistence that one of the cardinal values of expenditure control is its utility as a device for securing responsible government.

FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX.

Washington, D. C.

BRIEFER NOTICES

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

In *The Regulation of Railroad Abandonments* (Harvard University Press, 1948, pp. x, 277, $4.00), Professor Charles R. Cherington presents a distinctive treatment of one of the functional aspects of a given field of public regulation. One might at first assume that such a specialized approach would leave much to be desired by those interested in general aspects of administrative regulation. There is, however, much in Mr.

Cherington's book to interest the generalist. The entire approach followed is to proceed in analysis from the particular to the general. The book is therefore valuable not only as a substantial authoritative work in its special field; it also presents many general lessons in the fields of administrative law and government and business. The study is based upon an extensive analysis and classification of more than 2,000 railroad abandonment decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Federal experience in the regulation of abandonments has dated from the passage of the Transportation Act of 1920, when the Interstate Commerce Commission was first vested with authority in this area. In the period of nearly thirty years, in which have come the great depression and the Second World War, the Commission's activities have reached into almost every conceivable variation of this problem. It is fitting that the Commission's accomplishments and manner of action be now analyzed and evaluated. The Transportation Act of 1920 effected a substantial revision of the function of the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of the areas in which its functions were expanded was in the control of railroad abandonments, which prior to that time had not been a federal responsibility. The legislative background of the act's abandonment provisions reveals some doubts in the minds of members of the Congress about bestowing upon the Commission absolute powers at the expense of the state governments. Whatever these doubts, evidence is ample to indicate the judicious approach which the Commission has made to the problem. The Commission's political formula in adjudicating abandonment cases has been to balance conflicting interests and to treat each case on its individual merits. In the main, the courts have accepted the Commission's determination as to the best way in which the public convenience and necessity could be served. The actual process of applying so vague a standard as public convenience and necessity to specific cases is described and analyzed by Professor Cherington as effectively as is done anywhere in the literature of administrative regulation. The author's most serious criticism of the administrative machinery for handling railroad abandonments is the great lack of processes for long-range thought and planning. Efforts to establish such machinery outside the Commission have failed. The Commission itself finds great difficulty in rising above the judicial processes of moving from one case to the next and letting the distant future take care of itself.—JOSEPH M. RAY.

Those who have liked and used the third edition of Sait's *American Parties and Elections* will also want to use the fourth edition, revised and brought to date by Howard Penniman (Appleton, Century, Crofts, Inc., 1948, pp. viii, 668, $4.75.). The chapters are the same in number, exactly the same in title, and—as the new editor confirms in the preface—the

treatment is little different from that of the earlier versions of the work. Part I concerns "The Electorate and Public Opinion"; Part II, "The Nature and History of Parties"; Part III, "Party Organization"; Part IV, "Nominations"; and Part V, "Elections." Nor is the volume greater in size than previous editions. On the whole, it is a revision that is well done. There are, however, a few implicit and unclarified value judgments to be found here and there, as there were in earlier editions. On pages 157–158, for instance, one finds: "Once again, as long as Democracy endures, the remedy must be found in the electorate itself. Things will go on much as they are until the electorate shows more disposition to serve the common good as against special interests . . . and to support the courage of a man of character as against the abject ambitions of a calculating demagogue." Nevertheless, the book will be of considerable value to those wanting texts on, or wanting to study current party structure and organization in, the United States.—Paul P. Van Riper.

In *Recreation Administration in New Mexico* (Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1948, pp. iv, 39, $0.50), Dorothy I. Cline and K. Peterson Rose take stock of the performance of their state in the field of recreation and outline a program for future developments. The study stakes out major aspects of recreation administration for review and action, traces briefly important trends in state recreation, and indicates recreation functions of state agencies. Coördination of state programs, a fiscal survey, and a special recreation survey commission to prepare a comprehensive report are recommended. Of value are the appendices, which include some findings and recommendations of the New Mexico Park, Parkway, Recreational-Area Plan of 1939 and information regarding New Mexico's agencies concerned with recreation. Although the study contains little that observers have not found in many states, it has considerable local significance and some comparative value.—Robert B. Highsaw.

Books concerned with legislation in the United States are generally regarded as vapid reading for any except a limited group of scholars and lawyers. George Frederick Miller's *Absentee Voters and Suffrage Laws* (Washington, D. C.: Daylion Co., 1948, pp. 224) is a welcome exception. The author presents a very full description of the absentee voter and his prerogatives in the several states, enlivened by whimsical anecdotes based upon statutory provisions, court observations, and party organizational practices. Chapters III and IV, relating to the recognition of absentee status, constitute especially valuable reading for the student of government or for the lay citizen. The scope and divergence of existing legislation are well handled, and valuable suggestions for standardization and

improvement are offered. The two final chapters deal with the perennial problem of suffrage rights for the disfranchised citizens residing in the author's own District of Columbia and suggest the extension of absentee voter status in all of the states as a solution.—DAVID W. KNEPPER.

"The emergence of administrative law as a full-fledged bailiwick in the corpus of our law occurred only after the intellectual props had been knocked out from under ponderous constitutional concepts which had blindly denied its existence" (p. 14). "Although this [Dicey's] view has been eviscerated, the rule of law retains virulence in the narrower problems concerned with the judicial review of administrative determinations" (p. 138). As these excerpts serve to show, the instructor in freshman English would have worn out his red pencil on this manuscript, *The Background of Administrative Law* (Associated Lawyers Publishing Co., 1948, pp. ix, 214), by Milton M. Carrow. What need does the book supply, what profit does one gain from reading it? The preface promises a discussion of fundamental principles in the light of the Federal Administrative Procedure Act of 1946. But the reader gains no effective grasp of that statute; and as to fundamental principles, the book offers nothing that has not already been written, more lucidly and with a surer mastery and insight, by numerous authors.—CHARLES FAIRMAN.

FOREIGN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

In *L'Oeuvre de la Troisième République* (Montreal: Editions de l'Arbre, 1945, pp. viii, 318), a distinguished group of French scholars has attempted to redress the balance in favor of much-criticized Marianne. The tangible achievements of the Republic are described in three parts: political, economic and social, and scientific and cultural. "How often," writes Professor Mirkine-Guetzévitch in the introduction, "have the mistakes of men been proclaimed the vices of the régime." In his chapter on the dynamics and mechanics of the French parliamentary system, he points out the paradoxical fact that "while in France electoral stability led to ministerial instability, Great Britain, in spite of its unstable electors, enjoyed a stable government"; and he stresses the need for a strong and stable executive, possible only through the existence of large and disciplined parties. Father Ducatillon evokes the long misunderstanding between Catholics and Republicans and traces the rise of the Christian Democratic movement which seems to dominate today. Pierre Cot deals with the foreign policy of the Republic, with special emphasis on its failure during the thirties, which he attributes to the sabotage of collective security by Rightist elements. Jean Weiller shows the relationship between the economic development and the political history of France and analyzes the Popular Front experiment in the light of the ideological con-

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flict. Paul Vignaux describes labor's struggle to gain the right to strike, and to collective organization and bargaining. The history of labor legislation, public health, and social security is given by J. Benoit-Lévy and of educational reforms by J. Hadamard. In spite of its immense range, which imposes a somewhat sketchy outline, this short symposium is a useful reminder of the many-sided achievements of the Third Republic.—CHARLES A. MICAUD.

Students of criminal justice will find much to interest them in *An Introduction to the Criminal Law in Australia* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1948, pp. x, 128, $3.00), by J. V. Barry and G. W. Paton, assisted by G. Sawer, in collaboration with a number of specialists in Australian law. One of the authors is a judge, the others are law professors, as are most of the collaborators. Published under the auspices of the department of criminal science, Faculty of Law, University of Cambridge, this volume is the sixth in a series entitled, *English Studies in Criminal Science*, edited by L. Radzinowicz and J. W. C. Turner. The purpose of the volume is "to delineate broadly the characteristic features of the criminal law in Australia." This is accomplished in six chapters, beginning with a valuable historical introduction which treats such problems as the reception of English law; the growth of self-government; the development of the Commonwealth; the question of a federal common law; and the elements of Australian criminal law. Subsequent chapters consider (1) the codes of Queensland and Tasmania and the projected codification in Victoria; (2) the general principles of criminal liability in the common law states of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, and in Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania, which have adopted criminal codes; (3) the problems of evidence and procedure; (4) special types of Australian criminal legislation, particularly in the field of immigration and labor; and (5) the methods of punishment and treatment of offenders. Of particular interest is a discussion of the transplanting of the common law from its English homeland to a completely new environment in a relatively isolated continent. This book will be useful not only to specialists in criminal and comparative law, but to students interested in the problems of federalism and institutional growth. In addition to the general index, there is a special index of cases, an appendix, and a brief preface by Professor P. H. Winfield, of Cambridge University.—FRANCIS R. AUMANN.

Postwar Japan has inspired relatively few books, and among them popular explanations or polemics have predominated. Harold Wakefield's *New Paths for Japan* (Oxford University Press, 1948, pp. viii, 223, $3.75) is therefore welcome. The volume is divided into two parts. The first, growing out of the author's *Japan in Defeat* and entitled "The Evolution

of Modern Japan," creates the context for the second part, "The War and After." Little new ground is covered in the analysis of Japanese society. However, the author, in each of the twelve topics that he discusses, gets to the problem, and by the time he deals with postwar Japan, a valid frame of reference has been created. It is the later part of the book that renders a needed service. The story of Japan since 1945 is told and analyzed. And here, Mr. Wakefield is objective. He does not conceal his conservative bias nor his admiration for the MacArthur administration; yet he does not suppress part of the story to prove his case. One point that he makes has needed expression for a long time: to the critics of General MacArthur who cite his suppression of certain leftist activities as aid to the reactionaries who ruled Japan, the author replies that SCAP's restrictions "have weakened the right and center much more than the left." Although the prognosis for Japan may possibly be over-optimistic, the volume is of value for the scholarly coverage of a neglected field.—PAUL S. DULL.

The new edition of K. C. Wheare's work, *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status* (Oxford University Press, 3rd ed., 1947, pp. xvi, 348, $4.25), takes notice of changes that have occurred since the beginning of 1942, especially by the insertion of thirteen pages (pp. 216a–216m) on the adoption by Australia of sections 2–6 of the Statute (the text of the Australian legislation is given in an appendix), by the addition of a short section (Appendix VI) on New Zealand's attitude toward adoption, and by incidental revisions in other connections. The author makes it clear that he is not concerned to give a full analysis either of Dominion status or of the Statute of Westminster, but merely to show what were the effects of the Statute on Dominion status. Of this topic, the book is probably the best treatment to be found anywhere. Already standard, its third edition certainly needs no extended notice for specialists. Those who are not primarily interested in the structure of the Commonwealth, however, should not be misled by the seeming narrowness of the theme Mr. Wheare has chosen or by the legalistic character of the sections dealing with the position of the Dominions in law after 1931. The real subject is the way in which law and convention are interwoven in British constitutional development. Introduced by a brilliant exposition in the first chapter, this theme is carried along through the whole treatise and gives it broad significance for students of government. Mr. Wheare is a writer of exceptional clarity and penetration. His book deserves the success it has attained.—THOMAS P. PEARDON.

The basic ore in certain areas needs to be mined before the refined metals can be used for manufacture of any sort of articles. Translated into terms of political science, this means that for certain hitherto neglected

regions basic studies must first be made before more advanced studies, using the former as a foundation, can be attempted. William Marion Gibson, formerly of Duke University, has done a good job of mining some of that basic ore in the preparation of *The Constitutions of Colombia* (Duke University Press, 1948, pp. xii, 478, $6.00). The volume is a compilation of English translations of twelve constitutions which that northern South American state has had in force at one time or another. Colombia has been well chosen for this sort of treatment, inasmuch as that country has given much more meaning to political processes and has paid more heed to constitutional government than have many Latin American countries. Colombia also exhibits the interesting phenomenon of a vacillation between attachment to centralism and to federalism, which has been solved, so the editor states in his preface, by a species of "political centralization and administrative decentralization." Each of the dozen documents included in this collection, ending with the constitutional codification of 1945, is preceded by a note on the "historical background" of the particular constitution and by another on the "political organization" established by the document. The texts are for the most part translated from a standard Colombian collection by Pombo and Guerra, *Constituciones de Colombia*. The translation is well done, and the historical and analytical notes are accurate and informative. The collection should prove useful to students of comparative constitutional law and related subjects.—Russell H. Fitzgibbon.

British health legislation of 1946 provided for the coördination of public and private hospitals under regional boards empowered to exercise extensive control. Frank Hart, a hospital administrator, has collaborated with A. J. Waldegrave, an experienced civil servant and an officer of the Institute of Public Administration, in surveying hospitals as they existed just prior to the effective date of the new law. Their efforts have resulted in a volume entitled *A Study of Hospital Administration* (Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 1948, pp. ix, 188), a brief but meaty discussion of problems, with some suggestions for action. One with only a slight knowledge of hospitals must be impressed with the universality and similarity of problems on both sides of the water. There is, first of all, the increasing utilization of hospitals in Western civilization, with the concomitant shortages of beds, nurses, doctors, and administrators. The student of administration will glean that the problems confronted in large-scale organization, whatever its cardinal task or objective, are much alike. These include coördination, control, personnel, maintenance of physical plant, relations between laymen and professionals, record-keeping, reduction of costs, and over-all planning. The authors have achieved a high order of English prose not too often present in the literature of administration.—John M. Pfiffner.

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INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS

A critical and fertile analysis of the tragic diplomacy of the months immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II is presented by Professor L. B. Namier, of the University of Manchester, in his *Diplomatic Prelude, 1938–1939* (Macmillan Co., 1948, pp. xviii, 503, $5.00). The work is based primarily on the various official diplomatic colored books now published, on documents made available at the Nuremberg trials, and on memoirs and diaries such as those of Count Ciano, Léon Noël, and Sir Neville Henderson. Professor Namier, a master of the incisive adjective and the adroit phrase, runs the gamut of Munich with its attendant before and after appeasements; Hitler's subsequent entry into Prague (through which action he "entered the path of the Second World War," p. 405); growing pressure on Poland (whose rulers underrated the danger and whose policy constituted "a mixture of suspicions, hopes, and illusions," p. 249); the stiffening of Britain; the hesitation and tired defeatism of France, moved largely by defensive conceptions; Russia's distrust and suspicion, together with aggressive rudeness and refusal to compromise (fearing that the Western Powers wished "to manoeuvre it into fighting their battles and bearing the burden which they had assumed in Eastern Europe," p. 203); Poland's fears of both Russia and Germany and her attempted diplomacy of balance; the abortive Anglo-Russian negotiations of the summer of 1939 (containing the "tragic core of diplomatic history during the half-year preceding the outbreak of war," p. 143, and illustrating the Chamberlain government's "deep, insuperable aversion to Bolshevist Russia, such as was not shown in dealings with Hitler or Mussolini," p. 188); the German-Russian treaty of August, 1939 (which created "an absolutely new and extremely acute, situation," p. 281); Hitler's decision to strike ("I shall give a propagandist reason for starting the war—no matter whether plausible or not. The victor will not be asked whether he told the truth. In starting and making war, Right does not matter but Victory," p. 303); Mussolini's "agonized indecision" (p. 327), and his attempt at mediation; and, finally, war itself. The author carves in sharp relief the tragic characteristics of the period—the endless shilly-shallying, vacillation, contradiction, arrogance, conceit, intrigue, ruthlessness—in fine, the failure of morality and the bankruptcy of statesmanship. The materials are somewhat repetitious—probably unavoidable considering the particular analytical techniques employed; the most serious structural defect is the failure to provide footnote references to documents quoted.—IVAN M. STONE.

American Opinion on World Affairs in the Atomic Age. (Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. 152, $2.50), by a well-known sociologist (Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.) and a staff member of the Survey Research

Center of the University of Michigan (Sylvia Eberhart) should be a call to arms for every teacher of political science. While the book does not say in so many words that teachers of government are falling down on their job, the implications are clear. In their conclusion, the authors say: "The people are not thinking practically and concretely in 'one-world' terms." "A far-reaching program of public education on our economic and political interdependence with the rest of the world is sorely needed." "Something less than a thoughtful effort has been made to inform the people about the meaning of their country's post-war international rôle." "Intelligent opinions on specific action proposals concerning tariff policies, loans, military plans, reconstruction plans in various areas of the world, and so forth, cannot be formulated unless the relevance of such actions for a clearly conceived rôle in a clearly structured situation is understood by the people." The world is on fire and political scientists should be in the forefront of the fire fighters. It is interesting to note that of the many social scientists mentioned in connection with the Committee on Social Aspects of Atomic Energy of the Social Science Research Council and its staff, Pendleton Herring, a member of the subcommittee, is the only political scientist. Teachers of government seem to be asleep at the switch. Sociologists, psychologists, economists, and market research people are in there fighting. In the matter of methodology in the social sciences, the book does not develop any new points, although it does reinforce some points which seem to have escaped many political scientists. It discusses the relative merits of the extensive survey and the intensive survey. But so few political scientists have conducted opinion surveys that the distinction would probably be lost upon most of them. The book is divided into six chapters, which discuss "Issues and Public Opinion," "Public Awareness of the Atomic Bomb," "Are the People Concerned?," "The People's Understanding of the Rôle of the United States in the World," and "Conclusion." The usefulness of the book would have been increased by an index; this reviewer is at a loss to understand why a research study that cost far in excess of the grant of $24,000 cannot afford to index its results.—HAROLD F. GOSNELL.

The thesis developed by the Swiss historian, Leonard von Muralt, in his monograph, *From Versailles to Potsdam* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Henry Regnery Co., 1948, pp. 93, $2.00), is that the Peace of Versailles proved short-lived because it failed to reintegrate "the defeated into a comprehensive system of European powers." The absence of an over-all political concept meant conflicting treatment of the problems confronting the peacemakers and over-emphasis on economic considerations. The confused and inconsistent handling of various aspects of the German problem afforded a basis for later Nazi claims and so-called successes and thus

proved costly to Europe and the world. On the basis of this experience, the author urges recognition of the fact that Europe in the twentieth century has "reached a point of development approximately corresponding to Italy's at the end of the Renaissance." Moreover, in his opinion, a politically organized free and healthy Europe constitutes one protection against the danger of a defensive war between the two world powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, whose ideological differences he portrays with both clarity and insight. While von Muralt's succinct analysis of Europe under Versailles is admirable and his view that the sovereign state is gone appears to this reviewer to be correct, his concession to what he believes is politically possible leads him to espouse a defensive alliance among Great Britain, France, Germany, and the smaller European states. Although perceiving the importance of power in political relationships and recognizing that the essential weakness of the League of Nations (which he appears willing to consider a federation of states) lay in its absence of power, the author overlooks the fact that his objectives for Europe can be attained only by a political organization essentially federal in form.—RUTH C. LAWSON.

The Committee to Frame a World Constitution already has received attention through its monthly publication, *Common Cause*, and the circulation of its preliminary draft constitution. The Committee now presents in a little book, *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution* as proposed and signed by Robert M. Hutchins, G. A. Borgese *et al.* (University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. vii, 92, $2.00), a series of papers clarifying and projecting its work, including an outline of purposes and plans, commentary on the draft, an index to the Committee's 150 work papers, and statements on the World Constitution and the United Nations and on the World Constitution and Russia. The book deserves wide attention as the statement of a group of reasonable men concerning the minimum requirements for world peace. The constitution should be received as it is presented, as a working draft showing "what a Federal Republic of the World under certain conceivable circumstances *might* look like," offered for further study and discussion. The Committee rejects the principle of limited world government. Instead, it delegates to the Federal Republic not only the authority to maintain armed forces and to set limits upon national militias, but also broad powers to enforce individual and group rights, administer non-self-governing territories, develop the earth's resources, collect taxes, regulate commerce, and supervise human migration. The draft declares that "the four elements of life—earth, water, air, energy—are the common property of the human race," and subordinates their private or national use to "the common good." The Committee asserts that such provisions for political and social justice are essential if a

constitution is to be endorsed by "a working consent of the human race." With particular reference to Russian participation, the Committee suggests that if the West pledges unmistakable "respect to and observance of the just interests of all nations, . . . then the Russian people . . . will grow restive under any propaganda indoctrinating them with the notion of a capitalist conspiracy."—JOHN W. MASLAND.

In his *Die Internationale Stellung Oesterreichs, 1938–1947* (Vienna: Manz, 1948, pp. viii, 148), Stephan Verosta, noted lecturer on international law at the University of Vienna, discusses the problem of in what way the German occupation of Austria in 1938 has affected the status of the Austrian republic. Verosta's thesis, supported and supplemented by a well chosen collection of documents, is as lucid as simple. The German act of aggression in 1938, in its elimination, of an independent Austrian government as bearer of functions as a subject of international law, arrested Austria's freedom of action as a sovereign state until 1945, yet it neither did nor could destroy it. Annexation, in contrast to the *de facto* act of occupation, could never become effective in contravention of established principles of international law as set forth clearly in the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1928 and resolutions of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928 and 1936. Consequently, the Moscow declaration of 1943 could only, and indeed did, effectively reaffirm the continued uncontested existence of Austria as a sovereign state only temporarily suppressed in its freedom of action. The general significance of the Austrian case and similar others, as Verosta rightly infers, is obvious. "International customs as evidence of a general practice accepted as law," under the impact of such experience, become increasingly disinclined to recognize *de jure* acts of annexation brought about by direct or indirect aggression, irrespective of whether such acts have been set in peace or war, whether they have remained practically unchallenged for a shorter or a longer period.—ROBERT A. KANN.

To those who feel that the semi-hysteria of current American-Soviet relations has reached a point where logical explanation is hopeless, and who therefore have wished that the psychiatrists might shed some light, the title of C. S. Bluemel's *War, Politics, and Insanity* (Denver: World Press, 1948, pp. 121, $2.00) is one of intriguing promise. Unfortunately, it is a promise that remains largely unfulfilled. The difficulty is that Dr. Bluemel simplifies his task too much. Though he pays passing attention to other causes of war, it is his basic conviction that "strife results not so much from a conflict of interests as from a conflict of personalities." After having thus reduced the problem of war and peace very largely to a question of leadership, most of the remainder of the book is devoted to an analysis

of the psychological traits which make for leadership. To deny the importance of leadership in the determination of political action would be manifestly absurd, but to exaggerate the omnipotence of leaders is an equal error. As Charles Horton Cooley observed long ago, among the requisites of leadership are that the leader shall be ahead of his followers, but not too far ahead of them. In only one place does Dr. Bluemel appear to recognize this. That is when he observes that a schizoid of Hitler's type could have become politically effective only because his followers were themselves in a paranoid mood. As an analysis of the psychological traits which bring men to rank and power, Dr. Bluemel's book is a stimulating one and might be read profitably by all students of political science. But as an explanation of the cause of war, it treats, to say the least, only one-half of the question.—HILDEN GIBSON.

In his *Americans in China; Some Chinese Views* (Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1948, pp. 59, $0.75), Thurston Griggs has given a selection of Chinese newspaper opinion, as shown in seventeen Peiping papers. The material is a strange mixture of violent attacks and naïve attempts to woo American opinion in order to guarantee financial help from this country. The collection shows that there is nearly as much abuse in the Kuomintang press, as here reported, as there is in the Communist dispatches relayed to us by the several news services. Much of the discussion grows out of the lack of a firm, consistent, and thoughtful American Chinese policy. These selections from Chinese-controlled opinion show the necessity for formulating such a policy quickly. The continued presence of American troops in China makes it possible for both the Kuomintang and the Communists to criticize the United States as the chief factor in causing the present-day ills of China. The viciousness of a controlled and censored press is clearly seen; and the unscrupulous leaders who manipulate it use the miseries of the people to foster their own selfish and corrupt schemes. A major result of this confused information is that the ordinary citizen of China, and of the United States as well, has no real basis for judging the case, and the good-will and friendly feelings of a century are being sacrificed to no good end. More publications of this nature will help us keep our perspective, and so to act more in accord with our real desires.—ANDREW E. NUQUIST.

For years, people have talked glibly about "total war," but only recently have we begun to understand what this term really meant during World War II. For example, Feis' *Seen from E. A.* and Gordon and Dangerfield's *The Hidden Weapon* have explored the field of economic warfare. Similarly, Wallace Carroll's *Persuade or Perish* (Houghton Mifflin, 1948, pp. 392, $4.00) is a valuable contribution to the under-

standing of psychological warfare. It is generally accepted that statesmen should give political guidance to military action, while generals should weigh political policy for its military implications. In this book the author demonstrates the necessity of evaluating diplomatic and military activity in terms of the impact it may have on the morale of both friend and foe. By such cases as the Darlan episode, the use of "unconditional surrender," and the treatment of Italy, he illustrates that a reasonable political or military policy may be disastrous propaganda policy. Carroll is well equipped to discuss American information policy during the war, since he served in the OWI, first in London and later in Washington. Combining personal experiences with political analysis, he succeeds in defending the efforts of the OWI, not, however, without stepping on the toes of its opponents. As was the case with most wartime agencies, the OWI had to contend not only with the ingenuity of the enemy, but with the indifference of high officials in Washington, Congressional opposition, and ignorance of the value of psychological warfare among certain of the military. From the standpoint of general interest, the propaganda battle with the Nazis makes fascinating reading. From the point of view of the present European crisis, the story of obstruction at home is a warning that unless Washington supports an aggressive information policy, we may yet lose the battle for Europe.—FRED L. HADSEL.

POLITICAL THEORY AND MISCELLANEOUS

Attempting "a fresh analysis of the *esprit des lois* in terms of contemporary culture," William W. Hollister, in a very useful and suggestive study entitled *Government and the Arts of Obedience* (King's Crown Press, 1948, pp. 139, $2.00), focuses our attention upon the old problem of political obligation, a problem often neglected and obscured by those whose attention is riveted upon the techniques of politics and of government. Conceiving of government as "the art of securing obedience," by compulsion if necessary, by convention if possible, the author believes that "the arts of governing can now be distinguished as different aspects of the problem of resolving conflict and making joint participation customary. *Domination, command, leadership, administration,* and *representation* have each its own appropriate *esprit* or cultural context in terms of which it must be judged." Domination is "based on a balance of fears;" command upon "social solidarity;" leadership upon "trust that the agency of control will carry out group goals which are desired, but which have not been explicitly recognized;" administration upon "recognition of the usefulness of the ends of control, but not of the specific policies to carry them out;" and representation upon "reciprocity of interest." Eschewing the traditional conception of corruption as a "devil" theory, the author urges us to accept as a substitute a con-

ception of corruption as "governmental lag," when "the conventions bear little relevance to the situations which they are intended to order." Controls may also become perverted by "usurpation" when "the agents of government act for private interests while seemingly functioning according to a convention which binds the group as a whole." This study should be useful in reopening discussion of the vital problem of political obligation, and the author, it seems to me, is certainly on the right track when he insists that the study of "power" must be undertaken "primarily in terms of its basis in obedience." If, however, that discussion is to be truly fruitful, it must free itself from the positivistic shackles that bind this author from ever seriously considering the *ends* in terms of which obedience is desirable. "Social control" is no end in itself, and to posit it as the goal of government is simply to beg the question of political obligation. What purports to be an answer to the question thus turns out in the end to be but a restatement of the problem in different terms. That may be useful in provoking discussion, and this is a worthy aim; but it is not enough, and it is not an answer.—JOHN H. HALLOWELL.

David O. Evans' *Le Socialisme romantique; Pierre Leroux et ses contemporains* (Marcel Rivière, 1948, pp. 260, 300 fr.) is a good example of the trend toward studies which cross formal boundaries of single disciplines. The author, a Canadian specialist in early nineteenth-century French literature, let his material lead him from his literary interest into intellectual history. He restricts himself to a minimum of biographical background, skillfully interwoven, a searching analysis of Leroux's thought (the chapter of most interest to political scientists), and Leroux's relations with Sainte Beuve, George Sand, and Victor Hugo. Leroux has not been entirely neglected, as the excellent critical bibliography reveals, but Evans' thorough study of Leroux's writings (see his annotated list and appended documents) produces new information and interpretations. Three of his theses commend Leroux's work as the best summary of French social romanticism, as the only democratic socialism of the romantic period, and as influencing a whole generation. Evans discriminates between Leroux's "revolutionary" French romanticism and the "counter-revolutionary" romanticism of Schlegel and Schleiermacher (pp. 70–71), but sometimes applies the term too loosely. Romanticism is more useful in a literary than in a political context. The political theory of Cabet, the Fourierists, Louis Blanc, Marx, and Proudhon cannot be dismissed as unequivocally authoritarian, and that of the American communitarians was thoroughly democratic. American Associationists, seeking a stronger religious basis than Fourier's, drew indirectly from Leroux through Sand's novels, translated in the Brook Farm *Harbinger*. Evans emphasizes the transfer of ideas from thinker to thinker, not their general and often

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unconscious diffusion into climates of opinion. The author correctly dates Leroux's first use of "socialisme" and "socialiste," but is apparently unaware of their earlier appearance in the modern sense, discovered by Gabriel Deville and Carl Grünberg. Edouard Dollèans' preface is sympathetic but discriminating. No index is supplied. To this reviewer, Evans' investigation is more valuable as another illustration of the common characteristics of much pre-Marxian socialism than as proof of Leroux's preëminence. In Leroux appear the liberal stress on the individual over society; a blend of internationalism with patriotism; hints of anarchism and pacifism; a dislike for abstract economic theory; a concern with an agrarian social solution; anti-Malthusianism based upon the hope of infinitely increasing productivity; the idea of progress; the religion of Humanity; solidarity and perfectionism. Many pre-Marxian socialists viewed human life, in Leroux's phrase, as a concert over the centuries, providentially planned.—THOMAS BASSETT.

In a day when the term "freedom" is so often thrown about without any clear idea of its implications, books attempting to provide a framework of conceptual clarity should be welcome. Such a book is Horace M. Kallen's *The Liberal Spirit; Essays on Problems of Freedom in the Modern World* (New School for Social Research, Cornell University Press, 1948, pp. vii, 242, $3.00). In it the distinguished philosopher treats of such themes as "Modernity and Liberty"; "The Organization of Freedom"; "The Warfare of Religion against Science"; "Freedom and the Artist"; "Of Humanistic Sources of Democracy"; "Freedom in the Factory"; and "Free Enterprise and the Consumer." Kallen thinks of the "liberal spirit" as being closely associated with the rise of modern science and scientific method. Like science, it is experimental and coöperatively competitive. It welcomes the different, for out of variety may come new vantage points of knowledge. The liberal spirit, moreover, must be basically secular in outlook: it cannot be bound up with anything smacking of traditional theologies and churches; for religion has always been the aggressor in any conflict with science and has been antagonistic to the claims of freedom. Kallen's discussions of the meaning of freedom in relation to factory work, art, and the significance of the consumer are particularly helpful. Modern industrialism, he comments, forces us to work during the day in order that we may actually live at night; and he believes that one of the most hopeful methods of restoring a measure of human dignity to the masses now geared to factory labor is the consumers' coöperative movement. Coöperative organization "is the true region of private initiative and free enterprise for everybody, as against the lawless power of the corporation and the decree-making authority of the totalitarian police state." As is so often true of those who share his general outlook, Kallen

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virtually makes a god of Scientific Method, although he denounces the gods in general. Faith is set over sharply against science, although it would seem to this reviewer that science itself is bound up with acts of faith. While much of what he has to say about the rôle of religion in persecution and intolerance is indisputable, his statement would have been strengthened had he given some recognition to those religious leaders and societies—Fox, Penn, and the Friends, for example—who have played a not inconsiderable rôle in the development of the "liberal spirit." There is, however, depth as well as breadth in this book; and students of politics should find it rewarding.—MULFORD Q. SIBLEY.

Edmund J. James Lectures on Government (University of Illinois Press, 1947, pp. 93) is the fourth series delivered at the University of Illinois on a foundation established in 1935 by Mrs. George E. Frazer, of Winnetka, Illinois, as a memorial to her father, the late Edmund Janes James, president of the University from 1904 to 1920. Dr. William Y. Elliott, in his lecture on "The Strategy and Politics of Raw Materials in Peace and War," calls for a "long-range" stockpiling policy as a means whereby foreign countries can repay a part of their debts to us and we can restore our reserves of certain basic minerals as well as build up reserves of those minerals that we do not produce. Such a policy, argues Professor Elliott, would not only provide us with reserves that would be available for emergency use in war, but would go a long way in helping to stabilize world trade and commerce. In his lecture, "Disputes before Organs of the United Nations," Professor Manley O. Hudson sets forth the prospects for the settlement of disputes by present international organization. He concludes that the provisions of the United Nations Charter are not enough in themselves and that "procedures are needed for dealing with all kinds of disputes and for assuring their settlement to the largest extent possible." In the final lecture, Professor Herman Finer discourses on "Force or Persuasion in International Relations," and declares that it is necessary to maintain the "existence of preponderant power [which] must be heavy and unintermittent." Otherwise, he says, the world will fall into a state of war on some trivial occasion, "probably in the Balkans." This force, Dr. Finer declares, must be based upon the principles of democracy and welfare.—CARL M. FRASURE.

The *Yearbook on Human Rights for 1946* (Lake Success, New York: United Nations, 1947, pp. xii, 450, $5.00) was edited by B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch and E. Hamburger under the auspices of the United Nations Secretariat as the first of a series of annual compilations of laws concerning human rights. The volume assembles constitutional provisions (supplemented in some cases by other laws) granting or limiting human rights, and in force on December 31, 1946, in seventy-three countries.

The volume also contains sixteen studies which cover the legal aspects of human rights in countries without written constitutions (e.g., the members of the British Commonwealth), in countries about to enact new constitutions in 1946 (e.g., China, Italy), and in some other countries (e.g., Belgium, the USSR, the United States). The authors of these monographs were chosen either by their respective governments or by the Secretariat. The usefulness of this reference work is further enhanced by a detailed subject-matter index. Most of the constitutions catalogued in this volume pay homage to the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. To dispel the widespread illusion that the effective protection of human freedom depends primarily on the enactment of bills of rights, future issues of the *Yearbook* might well include information on how such general principles are actually interpreted and applied by courts and executive organs in each country. Such an investigation, if carried out impartially, might, however, be embarrassing to many members of the United Nations.—FELIX OPPENHEIM.

The graduate schools receive severe criticism from Dr. Elbridge Sibley in his *The Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Social Scientists* (Social Science Research Council, 1948, pp. xv, 163). In his reconsideration of the fellowship program of the Social Science Research Council, he concludes that training is a more important problem than recruitment, since the graduate schools are receiving as many able students as they can hope to recruit and train. He shows that the modest resources for graduate study are being overburdened with mediocre students, that there are undesirable delays in the completion of training, and that the economic position of graduate students in the social sciences compares unfavorably with that in the natural sciences. The evidence is chiefly statistical, and numerous comparisons are made with the natural sciences. Dr. Sibley recommends more effective research instruction for a better selected group of students. He particularly recommends instruction in psychology, in the principles of inference from quantitative data, and in practical research which cuts across departmental lines. He believes that fellowships granted on a national basis will help to bring this about through influencing the graduate schools directly and the undergraduate schools indirectly. The author asserts that it is research and not general education that is under consideration, and proceeds to view research narrowly and as chiefly quantitative. He does not recognize that personal maturity is more important to a social scientist than to a natural scientist, nor does he sufficiently recognize that general education at the graduate level is necessary if we are to ask the right questions in research. Valuable as this study is, it is to be hoped that educational policy will have a broader base.—WARNER MOSS.

A slender volume, *The Great Tradition; The Democratic Idea* (New York: Declan X. McMullen, 1948, pp. 91, $1.50), contains three Fenwick Lectures recently delivered by Professor Jerome Kerwin at Holy Cross College. The first two lectures were devoted to tracing the development of the basic concepts of democracy from the Greeks through the nineteenth century. In the third, Professor Kerwin discussed the practice of democracy today, with particular reference to urban politics. While there is little that is new in Kerwin's argument, many will be grateful for a scholarly presentation of a basic theme which, in times such as these, can scarcely be reiterated often enough. Kerwin's basic intent is to demonstrate that democracy is a result of the fusion of a double tradition, Greek rationalism on the one hand and the Christian system of social and individual values on the other. "A good case can be made," he says, "for the thesis that, once the teachings of Christianity were established, democracy as a form of government was inevitable."—HILDEN GIBSON.

Students of moral and political philosophy should welcome the recent reprint of Jeremy Bentham's *Fragment on Government* and *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, published in a single volume (Basil Blackwell and Macmillan, 1948, pp. lxvi, 435, $2.25), and edited by Wilfrid Harrison. The editor contributes an excellent introduction of 57 pages, which, while it frankly admits Bentham's deficiencies as a psychologist and moral philosopher, yet argues that even the twentieth century can learn from these two eighteenth-century works of the great utilitarian. Harrison acknowledges, too, that the *Fragment* and *Principles* do not begin to cover all aspects of Bentham's social doctrine; that the Bentham reflected here differs in many respects from the later Bentham; and that a careful distinction should be made between the influence of Bentham and that of "Benthamism." Technically, this is a good publishing job; the type is readable and the book, although large in number of pages, is not cumbrous. It is eminently suitable for use as a text.—MULFORD Q. SIBLEY.

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AND

J. AUSTIN RANNEY

University of Illinois

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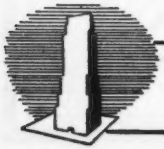

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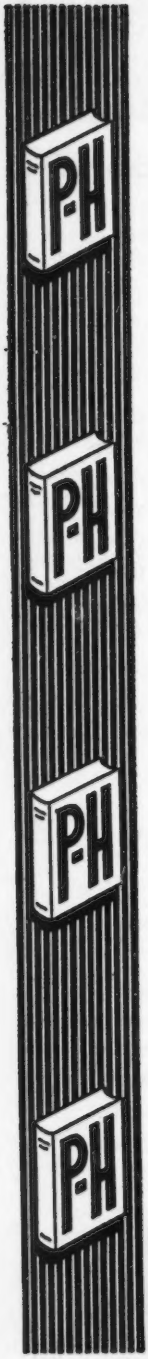

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